SPIRITISM IN ANTIQUITY

By LEWIS BAYLES PATON, Ph.D.,
Nettleton Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and Criticism in Hartford Theological Seminary, late Director of the American School of Oriental Study and Research in Jerusalem

INTERESTING and instructive contrasts and similarities appear when ancient and recent accounts of the experiences passing under the name Spiritism or Spiritualism are examined. For all the things known to psychical research—hypnotism, somnambulism, ecstasy, motor-automatism, dreams, visions, auditions, second-sight, mind-reading, apparitions, and others—were known also to antiquity. This book contains the main evidence in regard to spirit manifestations in ancient China, among the Indo-Europeans, in Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, among the Semites, and in Israel. All the light so gained is brought to bear on the ideas of immortality held by post-exilic Judaism and the teaching of Jesus in regard to the future.

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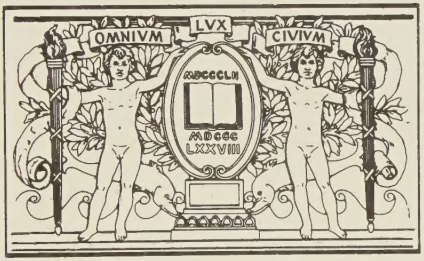

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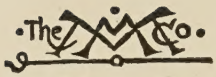

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SPIRITISM AND THE CULT OF THE DEAD IN ANTIQUITY

BY

LEWIS BAYLES PATON, PH.D., D.D.

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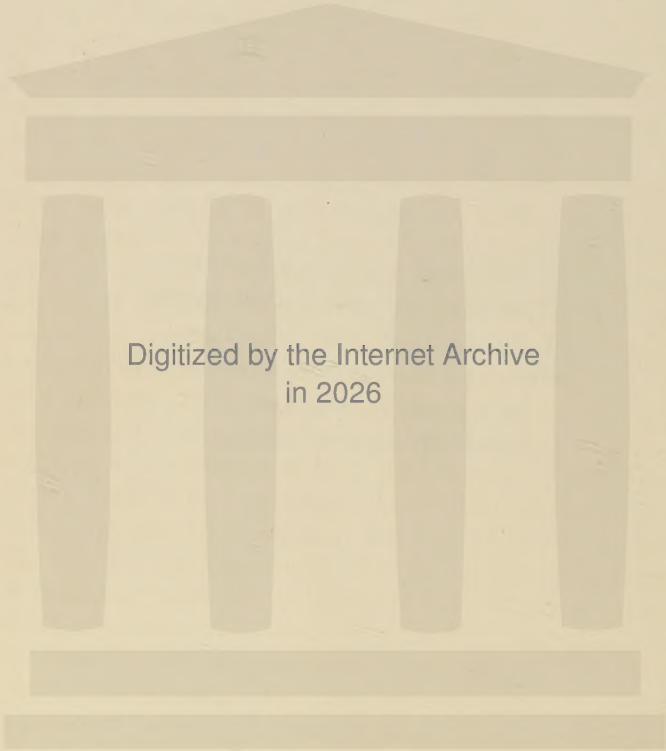
TO

MY COLLEAGUES IN THE FACULTY OF
HARTFORD SEMINARY FOUNDATION
IN MEMORY OF THE YEARS OF
WORK AND FELLOWSHIP TOGETHER
THIS BOOK IS GRATEFULLY
DEDICATED BY THE AUTHOR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PREFACE

DURING the last quarter of a century interest in the phenomena of Spiritism, or Spiritualism as it is popularly called, has been growing steadily throughout the Western world. The Societies of Psychical Research in England, Germany, France, and America have gathered a vast body of data, and have subjected these to searching criticism. The results of these investigations have been published in the journals of the various societies, and have been popularized in the writings of such authors as Mr. Andrew Lang, Mr. F. W. H. Myers, Professor James Hyslop, Professor William James. Whereas formerly an attitude of Sadducean scepticism toward all the alleged facts of Spiritism was maintained by religion and by rationalism alike, at the present time no doubt is felt concerning the existence of hypnosis, somnambulism, automatic action, ecstasy, significant dreams, visions, auditions, telepathy, telesthesia, mind-reading, foreboding of the future, and all the other abnormal phenomena of the psychical life. The only difference of opinion is in regard to the interpretation of these phenomena. Many scientific investigators think that they can be explained completely by the influence of living minds upon themselves and upon other minds; other equally scientific investigators hold that this explanation is unsatisfactory, and that the ancient theory of the activity of disembodied spirits alone accounts for all the facts.

The events of the recent world-war have awakened widespread popular interest in the discussion of this question. Millions of choice young men of all civilized

lands have died in the conflict; and their mourning families and friends have had to face anew the ancient question, "If a man dieth, shall he live again?" Many who are destitute of religious faith, or who have found their faith unequal to the strain, have sought eagerly for psychical evidence of the continued existence of their beloved after death. Accordingly, the last five years have witnessed a wave of popular enthusiasm for the study of Spiritism. The lectures and the writings of such literary men as Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir A. Conan Doyle, and Mr. Maurice Maeterlinck, have been received with enthusiasm on both sides of the Atlantic. The planchette, the gazing-crystal, and the séance have been cultivated by multitudes with extraordinary assiduity, in the hope of obtaining through them scientific proof of immortality.

Under these circumstances it has seemed to the present writer that it would be both interesting and timely to present a study of similar psychical manifestations in antiquity. All the occurrences that are associated with modern Spiritism have been known from the earliest times, and have been interpreted as due to the influence of discarnate spirits. The great historic religions of China, India, Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, Israel, Greece, and Rome are full of so-called "spiritistic" phenomena, of beliefs based upon these facts, and of rites of worship based upon these beliefs. No scientific study of the subject can be complete without taking into consideration the ancient as well as the modern evidence. The aim of the present work is to present in outline the main elements of the ancient evidence.

In the fields of Semitic religion and of the religions of Israel, Greece, and Rome, the author has been able to work at first hand from the sources; in the cases of the religions of China, India, Egypt, and some of the Indo-European races, he has been obliged to depend upon the researches of others. He has endeavoured to follow the best authorities, whose works are cited in the footnotes;

and he has submitted his results to the criticism of specialists. In the chapter on Spiritism in China he gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Rev. Lewis Hodous, B.D., Professor of Chinese in the Kennedy School of Missions of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, and of Edward K. Thurlow, B.D., missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Wuhu, China. In the chapters on the Indo-Europeans he has had the expert aid of Leroy Carr Barrett, Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit in Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. The chapter on Spiritism in Egypt would have been impossible without constant use of the *Ancient Records of Egypt,* and the *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt,* by James Henry Breasted, Ph.D., Professor of Egyptology in the University of Chicago. Dr. Breasted has also kindly given the author the benefit of his criticism of this chapter before publication. Thanks also are due the editors of the *Biblical World* for permission to use certain material on the Hebrew conception of the future life, by the author of the present book, that appeared in successive numbers of this journal from January to May, 1910.

In matters connected with Armenian religion and Armenian equivalents of Indo-European words much help has been received from Professor Mardiros Harootioon Ananikian, S.T.M., of the Kennedy School of Missions. The chapters on "Immortality in Judaism" and "Immortality in the Teaching of Jesus" have received the valuable criticism of Professor Edward Everett Nourse, D.D., and of Professor Melanchthon Williams Jacobus, D.D., of Hartford Theological Seminary. In all stages of the work the author has been assisted by his wife, and without her aid this book could never have been completed.

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SPIRITISM
AND THE CULT OF THE DEAD
IN ANTIQUITY

SPIRITISM AND THE CULT OF THE DEAD IN ANTIQUITY

CHAPTER I

SPIRITISM IN PRIMITIVE RELIGION

From the earliest period of human history no literary records have come down to us. In lack of direct historical evidence, accordingly, we are compelled to turn to the indirect testimony of comparative religion. Beliefs and rites that existed among all ancient peoples, and that still exist among savages, may safely be regarded as primitive. Applying this method to the study of the earliest conception of the future life, we reach the following conclusions:

a. The Distinction between Soul and Body.—Death is the "king of terrors," yet it is the greatest teacher of our race. Without it men could never have learned the difference between body and spirit; and without the idea of spirit, God could not have been conceived, and religion would have been impossible. When men first began to think, they were confronted with the fact of death. Their companion, felled by a blow, or smitten by a disease, lay prostrate before them. In outward appearance he was the same, but he was unconscious of all that they did, and he could not respond either by word or by motion. It was evident even to the most rudimentary intelligence that an invisible something had gone out of the man. This intangible element the Zulus, some tribes of American Indians, and other savages identify with the shadow cast by the body during life; similarly the Greeks and the

Romans spoke of the "shades." Closely allied is the Egyptian conception of the *ka,* or "double," that accompanied the body during life as its exact counterpart. The Andaman Islanders and some other equally low races identify the immaterial part of man with the reflection seen in still water, or with the image formed in the pupil of another person's eye. The Australian bushmen regard it as a sort of fog or smoke. Most primitive peoples observed the fact that breathing ceases at death, and therefore identified the vital principle with the breath. In many languages the words for "spirit" denote primarily "breath," or "wind," e.g., Skr., *prâṇa;* Gr., *pneuma, anemos;* Lat., *spiritus, anima;* Germ. and Eng., *Geist, ghost,* which are etymologically connected with *gust.*

b. The Continued Existence of the Disembodied Soul.—Primitive man believed not only in the distinction between soul and body but also in the ability of the soul to survive the catastrophe of death. The Paleolithic cave-dwellers of the Quarternary period in Belgium and France were contemporary with the mammoth, the cave-lion, and the cave-bear. Their skulls show that they were nearer the apes than any existing race of man. They were dressed in skins, and armed only with the rudest undressed stone implements; yet they placed with their dead ornaments, tools, arms, and food for use in the other life, and celebrated funeral feasts in their honour.

The same was true of the cave-dwellers of the Neolithic age.[1] They buried their dead in caves; or when these were lacking, made dolmens, or box-like structures of stone slabs to receive them. In the stone that covered the entrance a small hole was drilled to allow the spirit access to the tomb and egress from it. The corpse was placed in the contracted position of an unborn child, with its head resting upon its knees, thus perhaps expressing the belief that death is birth into another life. In the

[1] D'Alviella, *Hibbert Lectures,* pp. 14-19.

caves of Mentone the bones are painted red with oligist or cinnabar, probably as a substitute for blood, the idea being widespread that blood infuses new energy into the dead. In the Neolithic caves of France the skulls of the dead are trepanned. Whether this was intended to facilitate the entrance and egress of the spirit, or to make an amulet for the survivors, it bears witness to some sort of cult of the dead. In the Neolithic caves of Palestine, that were inhabited by a pre-Semitic race, offerings of food and drink were deposited with the dead and their bones were used as amulets.[2] Anthropologists are agreed that no savage race exists which does not believe in some sort of immortality and practise some rites in honour of the dead.[3] In view of these facts, it is evident that immortality was one of the original beliefs of our race.

In the creation of this belief the phenomena of sleep and of dreams must have played a large part. In sleep, as in death, the soul apparently leaves the body; yet it presently returns, and consequently must have continued to live during the interval of unconsciousness. In dreams one seems to visit distant regions. The universal savage interpretation of this experience is that the soul actually leaves the body and journeys to these places, for to the savage dreams are just as real as waking experiences. It is dangerous to waken one suddenly, for the absent spirit may not have time to get back to the body. In swoons also, or unconsciousness resulting from disease, the soul apparently leaves the body; yet it returns, if the man recovers. If the soul can survive such temporary separations from the body, why may it not survive a permanent separation? The savage believes that it does. When death occurs, he at first refuses to recognise anything different from sleep or a swoon. He tries to coax the

[2] *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement,* 1902, pp. 347ff.
[3] Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples,* p. 69; Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* art. "Ancestor Worship."

soul back; and only when dissolution begins, does he at last admit that death has occurred. From this point of view death differs from sleep or swoon only in the fact that the soul has lost the power, or the wish, to return to its body. It does not perish through death any more than through transient states of unconsciousness. Primitive man was unable to think of himself as ceasing to exist; and, strictly speaking, it is impossible even for us of to-day. In many languages there is no word for "die," only for "be killed." In dreams also one saw the forms of those who had died, and the inference was natural that their spirits survived and returned to visit friends. All the phenomena of apparitions, levitation, hypnotism, clairvoyance, etc., that are known to modern psychical research, and that are given a spiritistic interpretation by many today, were known to primitive man, and doubtless helped also to give support to the belief in the continued existence of the disembodied spirit.[4]

c. Powers Retained by the Soul in Death.—Although, according to the antique conception, the dead lost their physical powers, they lost none of their higher spiritual powers of knowledge, feeling, and will. Ancestors retained a keen interest in their posterity and actively intervened in their affairs. Enemies preserved their original hostility to their foes. The dead were conscious of events that occurred on earth. Those who had met an untimely fate remembered that fact and were unhappy in the other world. The spirits of murdered men, of those that had died in youth, of women that had died in childbirth, and of those that had left no descendants, could not rest.

The belief was universal that, under certain conditions, the dead had the power of appearing to the living.[5] When thus appearing, the spirits were believed to retain the semblance of their bodies at the time of death. In

[4] Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times,*[4] *pp.* 144ff.; Tylor, *Primitive Culture,* ch. xi-xvii; Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion,* p. 43ff.; Frazer, *Golden Bough,*[2] i. p. 225 ff.

[5] Lang, *The Making of Religion,* p. 138.

the *Odyssey* (xi. 40) those who have fallen in battle appear to Ulysses "mangled by the spear and clad in bloody armour." The same belief lingers in the ghost-lore of modern Europe, and even the most enlightened Christian finds it impossible to think of his beloved dead otherwise than as they last appeared in life. Returning spirits could speak in audible tones, though with weak and trembling voices that corresponded to their ethereal nature. Thus in the *Odyssey* (xi. 43) the ghosts approach Ulysses "with gibbering cries."

d. Powers Gained by the Soul in Death.—Spirits, although haunting their bodies, were not restricted to them. They could move at will with lightning-like rapidity to any place where they wished to manifest themselves. They also possessed the extraordinary power of entering new bodies.

1. *They Could Occupy Inanimate Objects.*—According to primitive theology, spirits could use as their instruments material things, such as sticks and stones, causing in them motion, or endowing them with magical powers. In this case a *talisman* was produced. They could also animate an object by taking up their abode in it. In this case the result was a *fetish.* The idea was widespread that they preferred to occupy images made in the likeness of their former bodies. Thus in Egypt statues of the deceased were multiplied in tombs that his *ka,* or "double," might find abundant opportunity to take up its abode.

2. *Spirits Could Take Possession of Animals.*—So widespread was this belief among primitive peoples that Wilken, Tylor, and other anthropologists have conjectured that it is the explanation of totemism, or the worship of animals as the ancestors of tribes.[6]

3. *Spirits Could Occupy the Bodies of Living Men.*—This might take the form either of *obsession,* resulting

[6] Crooke, in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* art. "Ancestor Worship," p. 430.

in disease or insanity, or of *possession,* resulting in the imparting of the higher knowledge, skill or power of the spirit. Among all ancient peoples, it was believed that spirits of the dead not only retained the knowledge possessed by them in life, but also acquired new and greater knowledge. The abnormal powers of the subconscious soul, such as crystal-gazing, motor-automatism, thought-transference, telepathy, telesthesia, and foreboding of the future, were ascribed to their influence.[7] They were therefore believed to be far wiser than mortals, and they were consulted for guidance in the affairs of life and for oracles concerning the future.

e. Powers Lost by the Soul in Death.—The identification of the soul with the breath, shadow, reflection, or echo of the living man, led naturally to the conception that it was vague and unsubstantial. Early races and savages have uniformly regarded the soul as a small, feeble being, ordinarily invisible, inaudible, and intangible, that is unable to take care of itself, and that needs to be sheltered and guarded until, so to speak, it "finds itself" in the spirit-world. The sorcerers of Greenland describe the soul as a pale, soft thing, without nerves, without bones, without flesh; when one would seize it, one feels nothing.[8] When Achilles would embrace the shade of Patroclus, it passes through his hands like smoke.

> " 'Dost thou command me thus? I shall fulfil
> Obediently thy wish; yet draw thou near,
> And let us give at least a brief embrace,
> And so indulge our grief.' He said, and stretched
> His longing arms to clasp the shade. In vain;
> Away like smoke it went with gibbering cry,
> Down to the earth. Achilles sprang upright,
> Astonished, clapped his hands, and sadly said,
> 'Surely there dwell within the realm below
> Both soul and form, though bodiless.' "[9]

[7] See Lang, *The Making of Religion,* chaps. iv-v.
[8] D'Alviella, *Hibbert Lectures,* p. 78.
[9] *Iliad,* xxiii. 95-104 (Bryant's translation).

In like manner Ulysses finds the shade of his mother wholly unsubstantial.

> "She spake; I longed to take into my arms
> The soul of my dead mother. Thrice I tried,
> Moved by a strong desire, and thrice the form
> Passed through them like a shadow or a dream.
> . . . . . .
> I spake, and then my reverend mother said:—
> 'Believe not that Jove's daughter Proserpine
> Deceives thee. 'Tis the lot of all our race
> When they are dead. No more the sinews bind
> The bones and flesh, when once from the white bones
> The life departs. Then like a dream the soul
> Flies off, and flits about from place to place.' " [10]

Even the souls of heroes are so feeble that they cannot be roused to activity until they have drunk the fresh, hot blood of victims poured into the sacrificial trench.[11] According to Ælius Spartianus,[12] the Emperor Hadrian shortly before his death described his soul as "a dear little wandering being, the guest and companion of the body." The belief that spirits are pale, unsubstantial phantoms still lingers in the modern idea of ghosts.

f. Relation of the Disembodied Soul to Its Body.— Another general belief of primitive peoples is that the soul continues to maintain a relation to the dead body. When the flesh has disappeared, the ghost clings to the skull or the bones; and when these have vanished, it haunts the grave where its ashes are buried. Survivals of these ideas are seen in the veneration of relics of the saints in Buddhist and Roman Catholic countries, and in the belief that ghosts appear chiefly in graveyards, or in places where murders have been committed. The idea is wide-spread that an injury to a dead body is also an injury to the departed spirit. Hence the universal cus-

[10] *Odyssey*, xi. 204-221 (Bryant's translation).
[11] *Odyssey*, xi. 95.
[12] *Hadrianus*, Cap. 25, in *Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ*.

tom among primitive peoples and savages of mutilating the corpses of enemies. Thus every one of the Greeks who passes the body of Hector inflicts a blow upon it,[13] and Achilles drags it in the dust at the tail of his chariot.[14]

This connection of the spirit with the corpse explains the vast importance attached by primitive races to burial. The Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, and all other ancient peoples believed that the soul could not rest unless its body was properly entombed.[15] Refusal of burial was an injury that was inflicted only upon criminals, or upon the most hated enemies. Violation of a tomb insured the disquieting of the spirit that dwelt within.[16]

Closely connected with the idea that the ghost haunts the corpse is the idea that it still needs food, drink, and other necessities of life, and that these must be placed either in the grave or upon it. From the earliest times such offerings were deposited with the dead, and the custom still lingers in civilised lands in modified forms such as jewelry, lights, flowers and wreaths.

g. The General Estimate of Death.—From the foregoing survey it appears that primitive man believed that the soul survived death, and that it gained such superhuman powers that it was to be classed with the gods rather than with men, and was entitled to receive divine homage; yet in spite of these facts, he did not look forward with any satisfaction to death as an enlargement of his powers. On the contrary, it was regarded by him as an unmixed evil. So important was the body that existence without it seemed shadowy and worthless. Thus in the *Odyssey* (xi. 487ff.) Achilles says: "I would be a labourer on earth, and serve for hire some man of mean estate who makes scant cheer, rather than reign o'er all who have gone down to death." Death was not a going

[13] *Iliad*, xxii. 371.
[14] *Ibid.* 395ff.
[15] *Odyssey*, xi. 72.
[16] De la Saussaye, *Manual of the Science of Religion*, p. 114.

to the gods whom one had loved and honoured in life, but a passing out of the sphere of their care and interest. Their rewards and punishments were distributed in this world. In the other world moral distinctions vanished, and all were reduced to one common level of misery. The primitive belief in spirits, accordingly, was not a belief in immortality in any true sense. It was a belief in the continued existence of the soul, but that existence was so vague and shadowy that it was destitute of value. To become a ghost could not be an object of desire for any man. The conception of God needed to be deepened and broadened immensely before an adequate idea of immortality could be formed; nevertheless, these crude beginnings were the foundation on which the structure of a better faith was destined to rise.

h. The Cult of the Dead.—Because of the powers that have just been described the dead were regarded by all ancient peoples as supernatural beings, to whom the same sort of worship should be paid that was rendered to the gods and to other classes of spirits.[17] Veneration of spirits of the dead is seen in rites of mourning, in care of the corpse, in bringing of sacrifice, and in offering of prayers.

1. *Removal of Garments.*—The custom was widespread in antiquity, and is still found among savages, of removing the garments entirely, or in part, as a sign of mourning. As to the meaning of this custom there is a difference of opinion. Ewald, Leyrer and Kamphausen regard it as a spontaneous expression of grief; but it is hard to see any psychological connection between grief and nakedness. Schwally thinks that it was the costume of slaves and of captives, and hence was a token of humility toward the spirits. Frey takes it as a sign of submission to the gods who have sent death into the

[17] See Spencer, *Principles of Sociology,* I. chaps. xx, xxv; Tylor, *Primitive Culture,* chap. xiv; De la Saussaye, *Manual of the Science of Religion,* pp. 112 ff.; Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion,* chap. xv; Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* arts. "Ancestor-Worship," "Animism."

family. Frazer holds that it is intended to disguise the survivors from the ghost of the dead, or to awaken its pity, so that it will do no harm. Far more likely is the view of Stade, Benzinger and Jastrow that nakedness, or a simple loin-cloth, was the primitive dress of man that was retained in mourning because it was a religious exercise. Religion is naturally conservative, and the sacred costume of the present is the everyday dress of the past. In Egypt the priests of the Middle Empire wore the dress of the Old Empire, and those of the New Empire, that of the Middle Empire. The vestments of the Roman Catholic clergy of today are the common garments of the later Roman Empire. Modern savages perform their religious rites in less clothing than they wear on ordinary occasions, the reason being that this was the sacred dress of their forefathers.

2. *Covering the Head.*—In singular contrast to the custom of stripping the body was the other custom of covering the head or mouth, or laying the hand upon the mouth. The theory that this was due to a desire to conceal one's grief from bystanders presupposes a modern Occidental point of view. Others think that it was intended to disguise one from the spirits, or to protect one's mouth and nose so that they might not enter into one's body; but this assumes less intelligence in the spirits than primitive man believed them to possess. Still others regard it as a conventional substitute for cutting the hair.[18] The most natural interpretation of this ceremony is that it was designed originally to protect one from inadvertently seeing the ghost that lingered near the corpse. Death might ensue if one saw a ghost just as if one saw a god.[19]

3. *Cuttings in the Flesh.*—As W. Robertson Smith has shown [20] cuttings in the flesh, whether practised in the

[18] See below, 4.
[19] Cf. Ex. 33:20.
[20] *Religion of the Semites,* pp. 322ff.

name of gods or of spirits, were designed to make a sacrifice of blood, and so to establish a covenant. In the case of ghosts such offerings were peculiarly acceptable as supplying strength to their feeble forms.[21] Tattooing, which often accompanied the letting of blood, was designed to mark one as a permanent worshipper of the spirit to which the blood was offered.

4. *Cutting the Hair.*—This rite cannot be regarded as a natural expression of grief, nor can it have been designed to deceive the ghost so that it would not molest one, nor can it have been, as Frazer and Jevons think, a process of disinfection from taboo, since it occurred before the funeral. It can only be interpreted as an act of worship to the dead.[22] Hair-offerings to deities are common throughout the world, and are analogous to blood-offerings, the strength being supposed to reside in the hair.[23]

5. *Covering with Dust or Ashes.*—In this case also the theories of natural emotion, of humiliation, and of disguising one's self from the spirits, are all inadequate. This can be only a symbolic act designed to express the thought that one wishes to be buried with the dead and so to maintain communion with them. Jastrow[24] thinks that dust or earth put on the head is a survival of the custom of carrying earth on the head in baskets in order to cover the corpse with a mound, but this will not explain the frequent practice of wallowing in the dust as an act of mourning.

6. *Fasting.*—Fasting as part of the ritual of mourning is another primitive human custom. Its origin is difficult to trace. A natural reluctance to take food when one is sorrowing does not explain the fasting of people

[21] Cf. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion,* pp. 191ff.
[22] Cf. *Iliad,* xxiii, 150ff., where Achilles shears his hair as an offering to Patroclus.
[23] Cf. Ju. 16:17.
[24] "Dust and Ashes as Symbols of Mourning," *Journ. Am. Orient. Soc.,* xx. pp. 133ff.

who are in no way related to the deceased, nor does it explain the feast which often follows the burial. Frey thinks that it is an act of humility, like the ritual fasts, designed to propitiate the wrath of the gods who have sent death into the family; but among most peoples the uncleanness of death prohibits the worship of the gods in connection with funeral ceremonies. Others think that it is designed to awaken the pity of the spirits so that they will not harm the survivors, but fear of the spirits of relatives is by no means universal. Frazer, Jevons and Grüneisen hold that death in a house rendered everything taboo, so that food could not be eaten until the corpse was removed. W. R. Smith suggests that fasting was a ritual preparation for the sacrificial feast that followed, like the Roman Catholic fasting before communion. Spencer, Lubbock, Tylor, and Buhl regard it as a means of inducing ecstasy, in which one held intercourse with the spirits.[25] In any case it is unquestionable that fasting was a ritual act.

7. *Disposal of the Corpse.*—The belief noted above in the continued connection of the disembodied soul with its dead body led all primitive peoples to care for the corpse as an act of homage to the departed spirit. Inhumation, mummification, and cremation were the chief methods of disposal of the dead. The first protected the body from being devoured by beasts or birds, the second preserved it as a permanent dwelling for the spirit, the third etherealized it so that it might become a more fitting habitation for its former tenant. With the dead were buried, or burned, his food, clothing, utensils, weapons and ornaments that he might use them in the other world. The graves of ancestors were regarded as holy spots where their descendants met at stated times to perform religious rites in their honour.

8. *Sacrifice.*—By all primitive peoples sacrifices were

[25] Cf. Exod. 34:28; Dan. 9:3; 10:3.

offered upon the grave in addition to the gifts of food, drink, *etc.*, that were buried with the corpse. Thus in the *Odyssey* (xi. 28-46) Ulysses pours out to the shades the blood of sheep, and makes libations of milk, honey, wine, and water, on which white meal is sprinkled.[26]

Intimately connected with sacrifices to the dead were funeral feasts, in which one partook of the offerings, and thus sealed one's communion with the spirits of the departed. Such feasts have lasted down to modern times in many countries where their original connection with sacrifice has been forgotten.

Sacrifice to the dead explains the importance attached by all ancient peoples to male descendants. Among the Chinese, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, and other patriarchally organised races, the duty of sacrificing to a father devolved upon his oldest son. If there were no son, there would be no offerings, and the ghost could not rest.

9. *Prayer to the Dead.*—Here belong laments, which were more than mere cries of grief, being often elaborate compositions addressed to the departed, deploring his loss, and begging him to be near and to bless his family. At the time of sacrifice at the grave regular prayers were offered to the spirits as to other deities. Necromancy also, which was universal in antiquity, was a form of prayer in which the spirits were invoked to come and help one with their superior knowledge or skill.

i. Relation of Ancestor-worship to Religion in General.—From the foregoing survey it appears that the cult of the dead is one of the most ancient and most widely-spread forms of human worship. Starting with this fact, a number of ancient writers formulated the theory that ancestor-worship was the origin of all human religion. This theory appears as early as Genesis, chapters 4-5. Here both in J's and in P's lists of the descendants of

[26] See Jevons, *Introduction*, pp. 51ff.; D'Alviella, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 17; De la Saussaye, *Manual*, pp. 114f.

Adam Semitic gods are regarded as forefathers of mankind and as discoverers of the arts. The work *De Syria Dea,* ascribed to Lucian, which certainly depends throughout on Semitic sources, shows the same point of view. The idea that the gods are all men who have been deified after death for the services that they have rendered to humanity was first given currency by Euhemerus, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and hence is known as Euhemerism. It gained favour particularly among the Romans at the beginning of the Christian era, and found a fanatical advocate in Philo Byblius. This theory has been revived by Herbert Spencer,[27] who is followed by Grant Allen in his *Evolution of the Idea of God,* but it has not won the approval of the majority of students of comparative religion because in all early and savage religions numerous nature-spirits are found whose names and characteristics are entirely different from those of spirits of the dead.[28] A truer view of the relation of ancestor-worship to religion is that the conception of spirit was first gained through the fact of death, and was then extended to other beings than man. The recognition of a distinction between soul and body in man furnished a basis for the interpretation of nature as a whole. Every striking physical object, everything that could do something, or was believed to be able to do something, was supposed to be animated by a spirit that could leave it temporarily or permanently, just as the soul left the body. Thus, besides spirits of the dead, primitive man came to worship a multitude of other spiritual beings that manifested themselves in all sorts of phenomena. These nature-spirits were not conceived as ghosts of the dead, but they were beings of a similar character to disembodied spirits and might be called by

[27] *Principles of Sociology,* i. p. 411.

[28] See Hartland, *Legend of Perseus,* i. 203; A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion,* 1899, i. 308ff.; W. Crooke, art. "Ancestorworship" in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* i. p. 427.

the same general names. Thus arose what is often called Animism, but which is preferably called Polydæmonism, or the worship of a host of *dæmons* (δαίμονες), or minor divinities, in contrast to Polytheism, or the worship of a few great gods, and Monotheism, or the worship of one God.

CHAPTER II

SPIRITISM IN CHINA

a. Sources of Knowledge in Regard to Chinese Ancestor-worship.—Our earliest sources of information in regard to the religion of China are the five Classics and the four Canonical Books. The first of the Classics is the *Shu-king,*[1] or *Book of Historical Documents.* It is a collection of incidents, addresses, counsels and decrees beginning with Yao (traditional date 2356 B.C.), and extending down through the Hsia dynasty (2205-1766), Shang dynasty (1766-1122), Chou dynasty (1122-249). The *Shi-king,* or *Book of Poetry,* contains poems that date from the same early period as the *Shu-king.* It is one of the most ancient and most precious treasures of the world's literature. The *Yih-king,* or *Book of Permutations,* is originally a collection of sixty-four hexagrams, which in their turn are combinations of eight trigrams, and of parallel lines partly whole and partly broken. It was intended for purposes of divination; but the manner of its use has been lost, although it has given rise to much ingenious speculation. The *Li-ki,* or *Rites and Ceremonies,* is a compilation of ritual texts, partly of high antiquity, and partly of later origin, that was not completed in its present form before the second century of our era. K'ung Fu Tzŭ (Confucius) (551-478 B.C.) is traditionally regarded as the compiler of three of these works, and there is no reason to doubt the substantial correctness of this belief. To Confucius himself is ascribed the writing of the fifth Classic, the

[1] In the transliteration of Chinese words an effort has been made to conform to the usage of H. A. Giles' *Chinese-English Dictionary,* London, 1912.

Ch'un-ch'iu, or *Spring and Autumn,* a brief history of the state of Lu from 722 to 481 B.C. The *Tso-chuan* is a commentary on the *Ch'un-ch'iu.* The *Chou-li* is a record of the rites of the Chou dynasty. The *I-li* is an ancient work on ceremonial and etiquette.

The four Books are the *Lun-yü,* or *Sayings of Confucius,* a collection of questions, answers and discussions between Confucius and his disciples, put together about a century after Confucius, but containing a genuine tradition; the *Ta-hsioh,* or *Great Learning,* a treatise on the cultivation of wisdom in individuals as the sole means of laying a secure foundation for the state; the *Chung-yung,* or *Doctrine of the Mean,* a more philosophic treatise on σωφροσύνη, or virtue as the balance between two vicious extremes; and *Mêng-tzŭ,* the *Teaching of Mencius,* a disciple of Confucius.[2]

Other sources for the religion of China are the commentaries on the Classics, the later literature, and the existing customs of the people.[3]

b. Distinction between Soul and Body.—The distinction between soul and body is fundamental to Chinese thought. In sleep the soul is believed to leave the body temporarily, wander around, and see the things that are experienced in dreams. It comes back immediately when the sleeper is awakened. In swoons the soul wanders farther from its body and has more difficulty in finding its way back. The relatives then wave a garment on a

[2] The Canonical Books and the Classics are translated by J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics,* 1861; the *Li-ki,* in *Sacred Books of the East,* xxvii-xxviii, 1885. The *I-li,* or *Conventional Rites,* is translated by J. Steele, 2 vols., London, 1917. The references in the following pages are to Legge's translations.

[3] The most elaborate work on the subject is J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China,* vi vols., 1892-1910 (devoted almost exclusively to ancestor-worship). Another elaborate work is H. Doré, *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine,* iv. vols. 1911-1912. Other useful works of a more popular character are J. Legge, *The Religions of China,* 1880; J. Ross, *The Original Religion of China,* 1909; W. J. Clennell, *The Historical Development of Religion in China,* 1917; J. Edkins, *Religion in China,*[2] 1878; W. Grube, *Religion und Kultus der Chinesen,* 1910; H. A. Giles, *Religions of Ancient China,* 1918; J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religion of the Chinese,* 1910; G. F. Moore, *History of Religions,* i. chaps. i-v.; E. W. Hopkins, *The History of Religions,* chaps. xiv-xv.

bamboo pole on the housetop and beat a gong to attract the attention of the errant soul and help it to get its bearings. If the swoon persists, still more strenuous efforts are made to call the spirit back; and in case of death, the shouting is not given up until it is certain that all efforts are useless. An absent spirit of a living man may appear as a phantom to another person, or even to himself! and such an apparition is regarded as an omen of impending death.[4]

c. Continued Existence of the Soul after Death.— The soul which can survive a temporary separation from its body can also survive the permanent separation of death. This is asserted repeatedly in the Confucian literature, and is implied in the activity of spirits of the dead and in the worship of the dead of which we shall see more presently.

Apparently the most ancient name for "soul" is *kuei*. The ideograph which represents this is a radical which goes back to the very invention of Chinese writing. The etymology and primitive meaning of the term are uncertain. Native lexicographers connect it with *kuei* meaning "to return." *Kuei* would then be the same as the French term for "ghost," *revenant,* that is, a spirit that comes back to its body. Like our word "soul," *kuei* is limited to spirits of human beings either living or dead.

Another name for the soul is *shên*. The sign for this is composite, and therefore belongs to a later stage of the written language. This is the generic term for "spirit" of every sort whether in nature or in man. Its fundamental meaning is also obscure. Its phonetic (represented again by a different sign) means "stretch out."

Out of these two words the compound *kuei-shên* is formed which is the most frequent name for spirits of the dead in the Confucian literature. The reverse compound *shên-kuei* is of rare occurrence. Still another word for

[4] De Groot, i. p. 243; iv. p. 96; Doré, iv. 323-331.

"spirit" is *ch'i,* "breath," which corresponds to the terminology of other primitive races (see pp. 69ff.), represented also by a composite sign. Still other terms are *hun* and *p'o,* whose signs are derivatives from the radical *kuei;* also *ming,* "light."

d. Powers Retained by the Soul in Death.—No one in China seems ever to have questioned the continued existence of the soul after its separation from its body, but doubts were often expressed whether it retained the powers of knowing, feeling, and doing that it possessed during life. Confucius himself maintained an agnostic attitude on this subject, and discouraged questions about it from his disciples. In the *Sayings of Confucius,* VII. xx, it is recorded that he avoided speaking on four subjects: prodigies, feats of strength, rebellions, and spirits. In XI. xi we read: "Chi Lu asked about serving the spirits (of the dead). The Master said: 'While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits?' Chi Lu added: 'I venture to ask about death.' He was answered, 'While you do not know life, how can you know death?' " Another saying preserved by the *Chia Yü,* or *Talks of Confucius,* II. Art. 1, was called forth by the question of Tzŭ-k'ung, whether or not the dead knew the services that were rendered them. Confucius replied: "If I were to say the dead have such knowledge, I am afraid that filial sons and dutiful grandsons would ruin themselves in paying the last offices to the departed; and if I were to say that the dead have not such knowledge, I am afraid that unfilial sons would leave their parents unburied." A similar utterance in the *Li-ki,* II. i. iii. 3, says: "If we were to deal with our dead as if life were really extinct in them, we should be inhumane; but if we were to treat them as if they were quite alive, we should betray great ignorance; and therefore neither may we do."

These utterances sound very sceptical, still Confucius himself said, according to the *Li-ki* (VII. i. 7): "They

look up to the sky, and bury the body in the earth. The corporeal *p'o* goes downward, and the conscious *ch'i* is on high." We are told of Confucius that "he sacrificed to the spirits as though the spirits were present," and he consistently enjoined the cult of the dead upon his disciples. Whatever doubts the learned may have cherished, the mass of the people in all ages have firmly believed that the dead retain all the powers that they possessed in life, that they are comfortable or uncomfortable in the tomb, that they know when offerings are brought to them, and miss them when they are neglected, that they are interested in the affairs of their descendants, assisting the filial and good, and punishing the unfilial and wicked. In a lament of Hsüan Wang the king exclaims: "From above there is no hope, no help from around us. The host of dukes and officials of the past afford me no assistance. My father! My mother! My ancestors! How can you endure to see this!" [5] The whole ritual of ancestor-worship implies that the dead have the same intellectual powers as the living. The dead are thought to live much the same sort of life that they have known on earth. They have the same social and political organisation, and follow the same occupations. Emperors still rule, and are surrounded by their officers and their courts, while men of low degree occupy the same stations in the other world.[6]

e. Powers Gained by the Soul in Death.—The belief is universal in China that spirits of the dead enter upon a higher form of existence and exert powers that they did not possess during their earthly life. In the *Doctrine of the Mean,* chap. xvi, Confucius says: "How abundantly do spiritual beings display their powers! They cause all men under heaven to fast and purify themselves, and put on their richest dresses to engage in their sacrifices. Then like overflowing water they seem to be over

[5] *Shi-king,* III. iii. Ode 4.
[6] See de Groot, v. chap. xv.

their heads, and on the right and left (of their worshippers)." In the *Shi-king,* III. iii. Ode 2, we are told:

"The spirits come, but when and where
No one beforehand can declare.
Therefore we should not spirits slight,
But ever live as in their sight."

Of the good King Wên the *Shi-king,* III. i. Ode 6, says:

"Unseen by men, he still felt seen
By spirits always near.
Unweariedly did he maintain
His virtue pure and free from stain." [7]

Another passage says: "The approach of the *shên* cannot be calculated, they should therefore never be regarded contemptuously or treated with neglect." In another ode we are told: "Our ancestors descend in their majesty. Their *shên* enjoy the offerings, and their filial descendant obtains their blessing. Him will they reward with great bounties and endless life." "The *shên* come noiselessly, and repay their host with great happiness and with life for a myriad years." "The *shên* go away noiselessly." [8] These passages assert omnipresence and omniscience of the *shên,* or at least multipresence and multiscience. Some of the more important ways in which spirits manifest their superhuman powers are as follows:

1. *Spirits Can Occupy and Control Inanimate Objects.*—Immediately after death a tablet or banner is prepared inscribed with the name of the deceased. This is believed to be occupied by his spirit, and is carried with the corpse to the grave, where it is buried in order to secure the residence of the spirit in its tomb. The tombstone bearing the name of the departed is also regarded as in a peculiar sense the abode of the spirit, and therefore is the centre of the posthumous rites celebrated at

[7] Translation of J. Legge, *Religions of China,* pp. 94-95.
[8] *Shi-king,* II. vi. Ode 5, vss. 3, 5.

the grave. The ancestral tablet is another dwelling-place of the spirit. This is mentioned as early as the Chou dynasty, and probably existed long before that time. The sign for ancestral tablet (*shên-chu*) is a combination of the radical for "stone" and the phonetic for "lord" or "pillar." This suggests that it was originally a miniature tombstone designed for ceremonies in the home or in the ancestral hall instead of at the grave. The modern form consists of a wooden base with a socket in which is inserted an upright piece with a groove near the top into which another upright piece is fitted. It bears a close resemblance to the ordinary Chinese tombstone. It has written upon it the words, "Seat of the Spirit," "Seat of the Soul," "Lodging-place of the Spirit," or "Spirit Throne," also the name and titles of the owner and the date of his birth. The inscription is left incomplete until after the interment, and then some high literary official adds a dot that is necessary to complete one of the characters, and the tablet is placed in the shrine along with those of other ancestors. Before these tablets offerings are presented and announcement is made of all important events in the life of the family.[9]

Through the control of inanimate objects spirits of the dead can reveal their will to men. The most ancient form of omen-giving of this sort was through the tortoise shell. The inner side of the upper shell of a tortoise was coated with ink, and it was held over a fire until cracks in the form of lines appeared in the pigment. These were controlled by the spirits in order to disclose their wishes. The sign for this sort of divination, *pû,* is one of the primitive Chinese radicals. In combination with *k'ou,* "mouth," this forms the sign for the interpretation of the shell-oracles. This sort of divination is first mentioned in the reign of Shun (2224 B.C.). When he wished to select a successor to the throne, he con-

[9] Doré, i. 97-106.

sulted with his ministers and with the people, and they unanimously nominated Yü. He then submitted the matter to the spirits through the tortoise-oracle and they confirmed the choice.[10] P'an-kêng (1400 B.C.) used the same method in determining the site of a new capital.[11] The Duke of Chou (1100 B.C.) used the tortoise shell to find out whether his brother Wu would live, and received a favourable answer.[12] He also used it to determine the site of a new capital.[13]

Another method of communication used by the spirits was through stalks of the *shih,* or yarrow plant. Through the falling of pieces of different length and the diagrams that they formed omens were given. The interpretation of these omens seems to have been the main purpose of the *Yih-king,* or *Book of Permutations.*[14] This form of divination was used by Shun in connection with the tortoise shell mentioned above. Both of these oracular media have long since gone out of use.

A favourite method of divination at the present time is by the drawing of lots marked with answers out of an urn. These lots are believed to be controlled by the spirits. Another form of lot is the *chiao* which consists of two pieces of stone or of wood shaped like the two halves of a bean. These are thrown into the air in the presence of the ancestral tablets. Two convex sides up mean no answer. Two flat sides up mean a negative answer. One flat and one convex side up mean an affirmative answer. This method of divination was in existence at least as early as 300 B.C.

Spirit-writing has been known in China at least since the beginning of our era. The instrument which corresponds to the *planchette* is called *chi.* It consists of a bough with two long branches and one short branch.

[10] *Shu-king,* II. ii. ch. ii. 18.
[11] *Ibid.,* VI. vii. Pt. iii, 7.
[12] *Ibid.,* V. vi. 9.
[13] *Ibid.,* V., xii. 2.
[14] See p. 16.

The long branches are held as handles by two persons; and the short branch writes on paper, or on sand spread upon a table. It is thus an analogue to the divining rod of western lands. It is commonly made of peach or of willow wood, because these are distasteful to evil spirits, in order to prevent its control by the wrong sort of ghost. Like the *planchette* it is a means of automatic writing on the part of the persons who hold it. The spirit is invoked to enter it. He is said to "descend into the *chi*," "to go up into it," "to adhere to it," "to have contact with it." When he comes, the *chi* falls upon the table with a bang, and is apparently uncontrollable by the persons who hold it. It begins to write furiously, and in reply to questions will state the name of the spirit that is using it, his birthplace, the time when he lived, and other particulars. Occasionally the wrong sort of a spirit gets on the line and "plays fast and loose with the *chi*." This causes great confusion as long as it lasts, which usually is not for a great length of time. Spirits may even write letters without the use of the *chi*, and drop them down from the sky for the guidance of men.[15]

2. *Spirits Can Take Possession of Animals and Control the Action of These Creatures.*—Thus men who have been devoured by wild beasts cannot escape from the bodies of these animals until another victim has been eaten. A man-eating tiger is always possessed by a *kuei* which urges it to attack some person. "Real tigers," says one authority, "devour no men; it is men transformed into tigers who do so, for they are ashamed of their own race and hate it." Kuan, the minister of the ancient King Yao, in damming up the inundating waters "disarranged the five elements." For this he was imprisoned for life, and after his death his soul passed into an yellow bear. In 534 B.C. this same bear appeared in a dream to the ruler of Tsin. In 693 B.C. a certain P'êng-sheng was put

[15] See de Groot, vi. p. 1295; Doré, ii. 354; cf. 2 Chr. 21:12, where a writing comes to Jehoram from the dead Elijah.

to death for the murder of Hsüan, the ruler of Lu. He appeared in the form of a wild boar to Hsiang, the ruler of Ts'i, and soon after the latter was assassinated. The spirits of drowned men were likely to enter into the bodies of aquatic animals. Yuen, king of Sung (530-516 B.C.), dreamed that a man with dishevelled hair appeared to him, saying, "A fisherman named Yü Tsü has caught me." A diviner interpreted this to mean, "This is a tortoise possessed by a *shên*." Next day the king interrogated the fisherman, and he reported that he had caught a white tortoise, as oval-shaped as a basket, and five feet broad.

Animals which inhabit graves are naturally regarded as possessed by spirits of the dead. Such are wolves, hyenas, jackals, foxes, rats, bats, owls and serpents. All of these are demonic animals that have the powers of speech and of helping or hurting men. Birds also are frequently possessed by spirits of the dead. A certain Wei was about to kill a cock that belonged to him, when to his amazement the bird cried out, "I am Wang, your old chum in the army." The prefect, hearing of this, summoned Wei and the bird before him. The cock repeated its statements before the magistrate, and concluded with the words: "Now, since I, a domestic fowl, have divulged matters of the World of Darkness without authorization, I must die." It stretched out its neck and expired. The prefect ordered it to be buried in a tomb that bore the inscription "Tomb of the Man-cock." Friends and lovers are specially likely to turn into birds after death. Wen-hsiu and Lo Tzŭ-chung were great friends. They died the same night, and were buried seven miles apart. "Wen-hsiu's soul changed into a cock, and that of Tzŭ-chung into a pheasant; and the melancholy tones of their shrill voices resound there to and fro continually." The heir-apparent of Ts'i died, and his bride grieved so that she soon followed him to the grave. Her bridal matron drummed on the tomb with the lute

that the girl had been accustomed to play, and two pheasants came forth out of it. Mandarin ducks are famous in China for their conjugal affection. It is said that a duck will even follow a drake into the cooking pot. It is not surprising, therefore, that loving couples after death enter into the bodies of these birds.[16]

3. *Spirits Can Enter into Dead Bodies.*—They may re-animate their own bodies long after death. De Groot reports one hundred and twenty-seven cases in literature before the tenth century of our era. At other times the spirits may re-animate the corpses of other persons. This happens when their own bodies have decayed, or have been destroyed so as to be no longer usable. After spending a dozen years in the other world, a certain Chuh Chi-ching returned to earth in the body of his recently deceased neighbour, Chao Tzŭ-huo, and lived happily with his own family for a number of years. An unknown *kuei* animated the body of a dead girl, and she lived for a long time as the wife of a man. Such tales are almost as numerous as those of resurrection.[17]

4. *Spirits Can Be Reborn in New Bodies.*—Still another method of returning to life is to enter into the womb of a mother and become the soul of an unborn babe. When such persons are born and begin to grow up, they remember their former existence. A certain learned man named Pao Ching who lived under the Tsin dynasty remembered that in his previous existence he had been drowned in a well at the age of nine. Search in the well confirmed the correctness of his statements. Yang Hu, when he was five years old, asked for a ring with which he used to play. When he was told that he never had one, he went to a mulberry tree in a neighbour's yard, and pulled out a ring that had been lost by a dead child of that family. Rebirths were also recognised by scars, or other marks on the body of a child, that corresponded to similar

[16] See de Groot, iv. pp. 156-252; v. 542-651; Doré, ii. 380 sq.
[17] See de Groot, iv. 123.

marks on the body of the deceased. In taking a second body a spirit might change its sex. A girl named Ts'ai-niang was reborn as a son of her own mother. As soon as the boy began to talk he demanded the concealed playthings that had belonged to his sister.[18]

5. *Spirits Can Obsess the Bodies of Living Men.*— The belief has been universal in China since the earliest times that diseases are caused by spirits which enter into the bodies of living men. These malignant spirits are of different classes and bear many names, but among them spirits of the dead play an important part. Ghosts of the unburied, or of those improperly buried (see below under *f*), are wont to vent their spite by obsessing the living. Weapons buried with the dead may become dangerous to the living. The wife and the daughters of the prefect of Hsin-tu suffered from violent headaches and palpitations of the heart. Inquiry of the famous soothsayer Kuan Lu elicited the response: "On the west side of the hall two dead men lie, one with a spear, and the other with a bow and an arrow; their heads lie inside the wall and their feet outside; the one with the spear pierces the heads of your family, and this is why their heads ache so that they cannot raise them; the other aims at their breasts, whereby their hearts feel so anxious and pained that they cannot eat or drink; in the daytime these beings soar about, but at night they come and make people ill, striking them with fright and anxiety." On hearing this, the prefect had the skeletons exhumed and buried elsewhere, and the women promptly recovered. Chinese beliefs on this subject are identical with those of the ancient Sumerians in Babylonia which are discussed on page 212.[19]

6. *Spirits Can Possess the Souls of Living Men.*— Not merely the bodies of men, but also their souls can be occupied by spirits of the dead, who then control their

[18] See de Groot, iv. 143.
[19] *Ibid.*, v. 675.

thoughts and actions. Insanity is caused by spirits, and is therefore akin to inspiration. Ghosts of the murdered, or of those who have been injured in their lifetimes, enter into their oppressors, compelling them to divulge their crimes, or driving them to madness. Candidates for literary honours are often given by kindly spirits superhuman intelligence in their examinations, while others are so bewildered by malicious ghosts that they make utter failures. Sometimes instead of his examination paper a candidate is constrained to write out a confession of a crime that he has committed. Dreams are believed to be caused by spirits, and spirits frequently appear to people in dreams. Somnambulism, trance, and hypnosis are also caused by their activity.

A curious form of the belief in spirit-possession appeared in the Chou dynasty (1100 B.C.) in the "personators" of the dead at the funeral feasts. Descendants of the ancestors were chosen, and were arrayed in ceremonial garments. The ancestors were invoked to be present in them, they sat solemnly in state, ate of the food, drank of the liquors, received the prayers of the family through a "prayer-officer," revealed the will of the ancestors, and pronounced their blessing upon the "filial descendant" because of his generous sacrifice. One of the odes of this period says: "We invite the 'impersonator' of the dead to be seated that we may secure great happiness. . . . The full ceremonial is carefully observed, and every word and smile is as it ought to be. . . . When the service is finished, all the actors are exhausted, having carried out the ceremonial without mistake. The 'prayer-officer' announces to the 'filial descendant' that his filial sacrifice has been fragrant. . . . The ceremonial being thus finished, the bells and drums strike up, and the 'filial descendant' returns to his own seat. The 'prayer-officer' declares that the *shên* have drunk to satiety. The august 'personator' of the dead then arises,

and is escorted away to the sound of bells and drums. The *shên* go away noiselessly." [20]

This strange institution of the "personator" has not existed since the Chou dynasty, but "mediums" of other sorts have lasted down to the present time. People in an hypnotic or ecstatic condition are regarded as possessed by spirits. Such persons are called *wu*. They are akin to the shamans and medicine-men of other races. Wang Ch'ung, the sceptical philosopher who lived at the close of the first century of our era, says: "Among men the dead speak through living persons whom they throw into a trance; and the *wu*, thrumming their black chords, call down souls of the dead, which then speak through the mouths of the *wu*." Individuals thus possessed indicated the fact by convulsive motions of the face and limbs, shivering, groaning and sobbing, or by uncontrollable running or jumping. Sometimes they manifested such power that the strongest men could not hold them. In order to induce the prophetic ecstasy they made use of dancing and singing, like the Sons of the Prophets in 1 Samuel 10:5, and the priests of the ba'al in 1 Kings 18:26. This practice is mentioned as early as the Shang dynasty in the eighteenth century B.C. So infectious was this enthusiasm that bystanders were caught by it and prophesied with the *wu*. Young boys were often associated with them that they might participate in their inspiration. We are reminded of the way in which the youthful Saul prophesied with the Sons of the Prophets (1 Samuel 10:10-12; 19:20-24). The *wu* might belong to either sex; but, as among other races, they were chiefly women. A male *wu* was known also as *chi*.

When controlled by the spirits, the *wu* uttered oracles in their name. The Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty frequently consulted a female *wu* who was inspired by the

[20] *Shi-king*, II. vi. 5; Cf. the Roman custom, pp. 75, 80.

deceased princess Shen. Of her the chronicler records: "Whatever she said he ordered to be written down. Her orders were called written law, but merely told things which even ordinary people knew, and they contained nothing extraordinary; nevertheless, the Son of Heaven extended an exclusive preference to them. They were kept secret, and the world at that time knew nothing of them." Under Emperor Chao, son of Wu of the Han dynasty, his brother Hsü aspired to the throne, and consulted a female *wu* named Li Nü-hsü. "He ordered her to bring down a *shên* and make incantations. Nü-hsü burst into tears as she said, 'The Emperor Hsiao Wu descends into me'; and while all the bystanders prostrated themselves, she exclaimed, 'It is my strict order that Hsü shall become the Son of Heaven.'" This ability of the *wu* to bring messages from revered ancestors, or from beloved relatives or friends, gave them great influence over the credulous.

The *wu* possessed also clairvoyant powers which enabled them to discover lost articles, or to tell where things were hidden. In the reign of King Kuei-ming (264 A.D.) two *wu* identified the grave of a princess by describing the clothes in which she was buried. The grave was opened, and the garments were found as described. Ch'en Kuah of the eleventh century says of a female *wu:* "She proved able to reveal anything that my uncle wished to know from her about things in this human world, even though they were more than a thousand miles off."

The *wu* were able also to read the minds of other people. Of the same female *wu* just mentioned Ch'en Kuah says: "She even knew the thoughts arising in others. Guests who were just then playing draughts held in their hands some black or white draughtsmen which they had previously counted, and asked her how many there were, and she gave the answer correctly every time; but then they took handfuls without counting them, and she could not mention their numbers. It was thus evident that she

could know what others knew, but not what others did not bear in their minds." Because of these powers emperors and princes were accustomed to make use of the *wu* in order to discover sorcerers, or rebels who were conspiring against their authority. The *wu* were able to tell people what they had dreamed, even when they themselves had forgotten it. In 580 B.C. the ruler of Chin dreamed that he saw a tall demon with dishevelled hair reaching to the ground, which beat its breast and stamped on the ground, saying, "You have killed my grandsons unjustly, but I have had my request granted by the Celestial Emperor." A female *wu* repeated this dream to the king and told him that it meant his impending death.[21]

When possessed by the spirits, the *wu* could predict the future. Of one of these mediums Chuang-tzŭ says: "In Ching there was a *wu* animated by a *shên,* whose name was Chi-hsien. He knew everything about the birth and death of men, the continuation and cessation of their lives, their misfortunes and happiness, and whether they would die at a great age or prematurely." In the year 888 a *wu* said to Lo Hung-hsin: "An old grey-haired man sends me to you with the expression of his gratitude; you are destined to become the owner of this earth." Hung-hsin subsequently became emperor. About 1000 A.D. a *wu* predicted to Chau Tsu, the ancestor of the House of Kin, the birth of four children, and described accurately their characteristics.

Under the influence of the spirits the *wu* possessed not only supernatural knowledge but also the power of working miracles. The life of Hsia T'ung during the Tsin dynasty gives the following account of two beautiful female *wu* in his day: "They chanted and danced excellently, and they could render themselves invisible. The first evening was opened by them with bells and drums, the noise of which they alternated with music of stringed

[21] Compare the cases of Joseph, Gen. 40-41; and of Daniel, Dan. 2.

instruments and bamboo pipes. Then Tan and Chu drew knives or swords, cut their tongues therewith, swallowed the swords, and spat fire, a cloud hiding them from view, from which streams of light flashed like lightning. . . . Dancing with light steps, and whirling round and round, they uttered a language of spirits and laughed like spectres, causing basins to spin and fly against each other, and with gestures as though flying invited one another to drink. Hsia T'ung stood horror-stricken; off he ran, not through the gate, but right through the fence, and went home." When the witch Nü-hsü, who has been mentioned before, made her incantations, "the red leaves on some ten branches of a jujube tree in the palace-park turned as white as silk, and in the pond the water became red and the fish died, and rats hopped about in full daylight in erect attitude in the queen's courtyard."

Other mediums under the influence of the spirits produced wonderful literary compositions. About 1035 A.D. a spirit descended into a girl in the family of Wang Lun, Doctor in the Court of Sacrificial Worship. "That girl thereupon was able to write literary compositions of exquisite beauty, which even now are circulating in the world under the title of *Collected Works of the Female Immortal.* She wrote in several styles, and manifested the greatest artistic skill in the use of the pencil; but never did she write the seal characters or square characters that are used in this world." [22]

7. *Spirits Can Appear to Men.*—Such apparitions are not limited to professional seers, but may happen to anyone. Ghosts that thus reveal themselves retain the form of their bodies at the time of death. Ghosts of children return as children; ghosts of the aged, as aged. Ghosts of those who have been beheaded show themselves headless; and after an execution fire-crackers are set off to drive the ghost away from the place, and the mandarin

[22] See de Groot, vi. pp. 1187-1341; Doré, i. 139-142.

who superintends the execution passes through a smoke at the door of his house to prevent the headless spectre from entering with him. As in other lands, ghosts are most likely to appear at the time of their death, or soon after. Many families have had experience of the return of deceased relatives to their homes. In the Classics mention is made of the custom of fasting and meditating for three days before celebrating the worship of an ancestor. The "filial descendant" was required to recall the looks of the person whom he wished to honour, how he had stood and sat, how he had smiled and spoken, what had been his favourite thoughts and occupations. On the third day, through self-hypnotisation, the ancestor appeared to the worshipper and spoke to him. Whether a ghost could appear in person or had to depend upon a medium depended upon the degree of energy that it possessed. In the year 825 a female *wu* said to Li Hsiang, prefect of Mêng Chou: "I am a spectre-seer who can summon spirits by calling them hither. There are two kinds of spirits, those which enjoy happiness and blessing, and others which are poor and mean; the former have a vital spirit which is so vigorous and healthy that it enables them to speak with men from time to time, while the latter have a breath which is so weak and a *shên* which is so exhausted that they are obliged to employ me as their mouthpiece."

Ghosts appeared more frequently to professional *wu* than to ordinary men; in fact, they could often be seen by the *wu* when they were invisible to others. An interesting account has come down of a *séance* of Li Hsiang with the *wu* just mentioned. She said to the prefect, "Under a tree in front of this hall I see a man in a red robe. He says he is Lu Tsung-shi, late Second Superintendent of the Boards. Go to welcome him." Li Hsiang went accordingly, and politely invited the spirit to enter. "The Superintendent is coming in," said the medium. A voice was then heard in the air saying, "Lu Tsung-shi

was strangled with a bow-string in this very hall. He hates such strings, therefore please remove the bow that hangs above your divan." Li Hsiang did so and sat down. The medium then cried, "You have shown a great discourtesy to the Superintendent who is of higher rank than you in sitting down first, and he is going away in anger. Run after him and stop him." Li Hsiang hastened to make apologies, and heard a voice up in the air saying, "So gross a mistake, you presumed to sit down in my presence!" After repeated entreaties the *wu* announced that the Superintendent had at last consented to return. "What has the gentleman to ask?" said a voice in the air. "He most humbly begs to be favoured with a word telling him whether glory or distress shall be in store for him," said the *wu*. The voice in the air answered, "He shall be welcomed at the capital by many people; in a month after his arrival in the city he shall be prefect of Wu-chou." The voice in the air was evidently the product of ventriloquism, and this is a common accomplishment of Chinese mediums.

Mediums had the power of "materialisation" of spirits, that is, of making them visible to other people. The so-called *History of the South* records that under the Emperor Hsiao Wu (A.D. 454-465) "there was a *wu* who could see spirits, and who assured the Emperor that it would be possible to make his deceased secondary consort appear. The Emperor was very glad of it, and bade him evoke her. In a few minutes she was actually seen on a curtain in the shape which she had had when alive. The Emperor desired to speak with her, but she remained silent; and just as he would fain have grasped her hand, she vanished." The same girl-medium mentioned above, who wrote such beautiful literary compositions, also possessed powers of "materialising" spirits. "In that house the spirit occasionally showed its shape, and then it was perceived that above the loins it was like an attractive woman; but below the loins it was always

veiled as if by a cloud. She could play beautifully on the lute; and when her voice chimed in, it was so sweet and pleasant that all who listened forgot their cares." [23]

f. The Abode of Disembodied Spirits.—Like all other ancient peoples, the Chinese believed that spirits of the dead maintained a close connection with the bodies that they had formerly occupied. Just as they returned to these from sleep or from swoons so they returned to them from death. Consequently, it was necessary that the body should be preserved intact in order to serve as a habitation for the soul. Injuries to the body inflicted corresponding injuries on the soul. Criminals who had been beheaded wandered about as headless ghosts; and when the heads had disappeared, wooden substitutes were buried with the corpses in the hope that this would lay the spectres. The dynasty of Chou excluded from the tombs of the kings all members of the family who had died a violent death. Teeth that had come out during life and nail parings were carefully preserved in order that they might be buried with the dead. Mutilation of the corpse was the worst penalty that could be inflicted upon criminals. An ancient law reads: "Whoever murders three members of one family, shall be slowly cut up with knives till death ensues. His corpse shall be chopped to pieces, and his head exhibited on a stake as a warning to the public." Bodies of offenders were often exhumed in order that punishment might be inflicted on them. Shih Lih, a pretender to the throne, burned the body of the general who had fought against him and who had died in 311 A.D. In a chronicle of the Hsiao-chuang period (525-528 A.D.) it is narrated: "Liu Thing had already expired; but the Empress, remembering his crimes, had his grave opened and his body destroyed, that his ghost might be deprived of everything in which to take refuge." So dreadful a disaster to the dead is

[23] See de Groot, vi. pp. 1212-1341; Doré, i. 132-138.

mutilation of their corpses that it is prohibited under heavy penalties by the Legal Code: "Whoever mangles or destroys the corpse of a member of another family, or casts it into the water, shall be punished with one hundred blows with the long stick, and shall be transported for life to a country three thousand miles distant."

The grave is the dwelling-place of the dead, and without a grave they have no home. The unburied dead are ghosts who roam the earth and haunt the living. Such are those who have been drowned, lost in the mountains or deserts, devoured by wild beasts, or who have no relatives to provide for their interment so that their bodies are cast out like carrion, or the spirits of infants that have been exposed by their parents. It is considered a pious deed to care for bodies of the unburied, and benevolent societies exist which provide coffins and small sums for funeral expenses for the worthy poor. It is also one of the functions of the Government to see that no dead remain unburied.

Improper burial is almost as bad as no burial, for the dead cannot rest. Officers who offended the Emperor were punished in ancient times by being condemned to a poor and mean burial. When tombs became ruinous, the shades became restless and haunted the living until repairs were made. A certain governor named Wen Ying had a dream in which a man appeared to him who said: "Ere now my parents buried me hereabouts, but when the tide rises it flows over my grave; the coffin being submerged, it becomes half full of water, so that I possess nothing wherein to keep myself warm." Thereupon the spectre lifted up its clothes to show Wen Ying that they were wet through. "Where is your coffin?" asked Ying. "Ten *pu* to the north," said the ghost, "under a withered willow tree on the bank of the river." The next day Ying looked for the place, found the conditions to be as the ghost had described them and removed the coffin to a dry spot.

This association of the spirit with the corpse is the reason why members of the same family are buried together. It is felt that occupancy of the same tomb secures reunion in the other world. The earliest records bear testimony to the conveying of bodies from a distance to be interred in the family grave, and down to the present time the bones of Chinese who have died in America, or in other remote lands, are sent home for burial. In cases where, for one reason or another, bodies could not be brought back, provision was made in ancient times for the burial of their souls with their ancestors. Graves were prepared, the spirits were invoked to return, and soul-tablets bearing the name of the deceased, and garments that had belonged to them were interred with the usual ceremonies. The placing of gifts in the grave and the offering of sacrifices at the grave, on which more will be said later, also bear witness to the belief that spirits of the dead inhabit the grave.[24]

In sharp contrast to this is the idea which is found already in the Canonical Books and Classics that spirits of the dead are "in the sky" or "on high." Thus one of the ancient odes of the *Shi-king* says:

> "Kings die in Chou, and others rise,
> And in their footsteps tread.
> Three there had been, and all were wise,
> And still they ruled, though dead.
> Tai, Chi, and Wên were all in heaven,
> When Wu to follow them was given." [25]

When Wu, the first king of the Chou dynasty, was sick, his brother invoked the spirits of the three nearest ancestors as follows: "Your principal descendant is suffering from a grievous illness. If you three kings in the sky have charge of him, take me as a substitute for his person." [26] Of King Wên of the Chou dynasty it is said in

[24] See de Groot, i. 342-355; ii. 378-381; iii. 829-934.
[25] *Shi-king*, III. i. Ode 9; translated by Legge, *Religions of China*, p. 77.
[26] *Shu-king*, V. vi. 5.

the odes: "After death he went to rest on high, enshrined in light." "The spirit of Wên could rest in peace in the sky." [27] This conception of the abode of the soul arises apparently from the idea that it is breath, wind, or light, and hence is allied to the celestial powers. It may also be due to the fact that the same word *shên* is applied to spirits of the dead and to heavenly spirits so that confusion between the two is possible. The same confusion of thought is found in many other early religions.[28]

At a very early date the Chinese philosophers tried to explain this inconsistency by the theory of two souls in man. The universe was regarded as the result of a union of two opposite principles *Yang* and *Yin*. *Yang* showed itself in heaven, light, day, south, summer, male, *etc.;* and *Yin* in earth, darkness, night, north, winter, female, *etc.* Human nature was composed of the same two elements. Thus the *Li-ki* (VII. iii. 1) says: "Thus it is that man consists of the beneficial substances that compose the Heavens and the Earth, of the co-operation of the *Yin* and the *Yang,* and of the union of a *kuei* with a *shên.*" In XXI. ii. 1 of the same work we read: "Tsai Ngo spoke: 'I have heard the terms *kuei* and *shên,* but I do not know what they mean'; on which Confucius said to him: 'The *ch'i* is the full manifestation of the *shên,* and the *p'o* is the full manifestation of the *kuei;* the union of the *kuei* with the *shên* is the highest among all tenets. Living beings are all sure to die, and as they certainly return (*kuei*) to the Earth after their death, the soul (which accompanies them thither) is called *kuei.* But while the bones and flesh moulder in the ground and mysteriously become earth of the fields, the *ch'i* issues forth and manifests itself on high as a shining *ming* (light).'" These statements are mere philosophical speculations that have nothing to do with the actual popular beliefs. As a matter of fact, in ordinary linguistic

[27] *Ski-king,* III. i. Ode 1.
[28] See pp. 107, 128, 172.

usage the *shên* and the *ming* are connected with the grave quite as often as the *kuei*. The gravestone, or the ancestral tablet, is occupied by the *shên;* the pagoda which shelters the tombstone is called "tower of the *ming*"; objects buried in tombs are called "implements for the *ming*," and grave-clothes are called "coats and petticoats for the *ming*." All this shows that originally no distinction of two spirits in man was made, and that this refinement has left no impression upon popular thought or language. The double abode of the dead remains, therefore, an unexplained mystery.[29]

g. Deification of the Dead.—In view of the mysterious powers that spirits of the dead possess it is not surprising that they are regarded by the Chinese as belonging to the class of gods rather than of men. They are a species of the genus *shên,* which embraces a multitude of spirits of all kinds. At the head of the hierarchy stands *T'ien,* "the Sky," commonly translated "Heaven." A synonymous term is *Shang-ti,* "High Ruler." This is the nearest that the Chinese religion comes to the idea of God. Next in importance to the Sky-spirit are the other celestial spirits who preside over astronomical and atmospheric phenomena. They are called by the generic name *shên,* or "spirits." Beneath them stand spirits of the earth called *ch'i.* The compound *shên-ch'i* expresses the totality of spirits in heaven and earth, like the Sumerian *AN-KI.* The great mountains and rivers also have their tutelary spirits, which are known as the *kuei-shên* of these places. Spirits of the soil are called *shê,* and spirits of the crops *chi.* The compound *shê-chi* designates the collective gods of agriculture. There is no difference of kind between these spirits and spirits of the dead. They differ only in rank and in functions.

h. Worship of the Dead.—At the very beginning of authentic history the right to worship the spirits of

[29] See de Groot, iv. pp. 1-9.

Heaven and of Earth was taken from the common people and made a function of the Government. The ordinary citizen was allowed to worship only his own ancestors and the *numen* of the threshold or of the oven. Representatives of the clan were allowed to worship the presiding genius of its fields; and representatives of the families in a village, to worship the local guardian of the soil. The magistrate worshipped the spirits of his district; the prefect, those of his department; the governor, those of his province. The great feudal princes sacrificed to the presiding spirits of their states, to the rivers and mountains within their territories, and to the gods of fertility within the same boundaries. The Emperor alone had the right to sacrifice to Heaven and Earth, the great rivers and mountains of the empire, and to the spirits of agriculture of the entire realm. For any other man to perform these functions was an act of rebellion. Confucius himself said: "For a man to sacrifice to a *kuei* not his own ancestor is presumptuous flattery." [30]

Being debarred from the worship of nature-spirits, people in general knew no other religion than ancestor-worship. Thus it came about that this particular cult attained a development in China that is without a parallel in other parts of the world. Other races have practised ancestor-worship as a subsidiary rite alongside of the worship of gods and nature-spirits; but the Chinese have exalted it to the first place, and have made all other forms of religion secondary. As early as the classical books ancestor-worship had become the chief religion of the nation; and in spite of the spread of Taoism and Buddhism, it holds its own down to the present time. The ideograph for "filial piety," *hsiao,* is one of the oldest signs in the language. It is composed out of the combined signs for "old man" and "son." In regard to this piety Confucius says: "The services of love and

[30] *Sayings of Confucius,* II. xxiv.

reverence to parents when alive, and those of grief and sorrow for them when dead:—these completely discharge the fundamental duty of living men." [31] "The service which a filial son does to his parents is as follows:—In his general conduct to them he manifests the utmost reverence; in his nourishing of them his endeavour is to give them the utmost pleasure; when they are ill, he feels the greatest anxiety; in mourning for them when dead, he exhibits every demonstration of grief; in sacrificing to them, he displays the greatest solemnity. When a son is complete in these five things, (he may be pronounced) able to serve his parents." [32]

Ordinarily only the three immediate ancestors of the head of the family are worshipped, the great-grandfather, grandfather, and father. Remoter forefathers receive only a collective homage once a year.

Higher officers of the government and emperors, who have the privilege of worshipping other spirits besides those of the dead, nevertheless agree with the common people in regarding ancestor-worship as the chief duty in religion. The *Shu-king,* II. i. iii. 6, says of Shun (2254 B.C.): "Thereafter, he sacrificed specially, but with the ordinary forms, to Heaven; sacrificed purely to the six Honoured Ones (*i.e.,* ancestors); offered their appropriate sacrifices to the hills and rivers; and extended his worship to the host of spirits." Here the ancestors of the reigning dynasty rank next after Heaven, and before the sun, moon and all other spirits. The Chou dynasty added Earth after Heaven; and, with this modification, this order of imperial sacrifices lasted down to the fall of the late Manchu dynasty. The sacrifices to Heaven and Earth were celebrated only at the summer and winter solstices and on a few other special occasions, while ancestor-worship went on at all times. This explains why it is mentioned in the imperial chronicles

[31] *Hsiao-king,* chap. xviii.
[32] *Ibid.,* chap. x.

and odes far more frequently than any other royal cult. Under the Chou dynasty the emperor had seven ancestral shrines: one for the "great ancestor," or founder of the family; another for Wên, Duke of Chou, the father of Wu; another for Wu, the founder of the dynasty; and the rest for the four immediate ancestors of the emperor. When an emperor died, the spirit-tablet of his great-great-grandfather was removed to the hall of the remote ancestors, the tablets of his three immediate ancestors were moved up one space, and his own tablet was set up in the last shrine. The tablets of the consorts of the emperors were placed beside those of their husbands. The moral character of a deceased ruler made no difference in the homage that was paid him. The prosperity of the empire depended upon the proper celebration of the ancestral rites. Confucius says: "By their ceremonies in the ancestral temple they worshipped the forefathers. He who should understand the great sacrificial ceremonies, and the meaning of the ceremonies in the ancestral temple, would find it as easy to govern the empire as to look upon the palm of his hand."

The feudal dukes had five ancestral shrines: that of the "great ancestor" and those of the four immediate forefathers. High officials had three shrines: that of the "great ancestor," grandfather, and father. When a man was ennobled, his ancestors also were ennobled by imperial decree so that they might become suitable objects of worship for the new dignitary; and if he were degraded, his ancestors were degraded also. Lower officials were allowed only one shrine, that of the immediate forefather.

Besides the ancestors of the reigning house the state religion paid homage to the discoverers of arts or sciences, to sages, statesmen, deliverers from calamities, and other public benefactors of the past. Thus the *Li-ki* in the last section of the book on sacrifice says:

"The rule observed by the sage kings in instituting sacrifices was this:—that those who had legislated for the people should be sacrificed to, also those who had died in the diligent discharge of their duties, those whose toils had established states, and those who had warded off, or given succour in great calamities." Such persons were known as "Assistants of Heaven." Among these were Shên-nung, a prehistoric emperor who taught his people to till the ground and to cultivate grain; Hou-tsi, the original ancestor of the dynasty of Chou, born of a virgin who became pregnant by "treading in a footprint of the Lord (*Ti*)," the conqueror of the nine provinces.

Confucius himself belonged to this class. It is said that the Prince of Lu, Confucius' native state, built a shrine in his honour after his death where sacrifices were offered four times in the year. The first emperor of the Han dynasty in 194 B.C. visited the grave of Confucius in Shan-tung and sacrificed a pig, a sheep, and a bullock. Fifty years later a temple was built to Confucius in his native city of Ch'ufu, and in A.D. 59 Emperor Ming-ti ordered that offerings be made to Confucius in all state schools. In A.D. 72 the same Emperor ordered the tablets of the seventy-two disciples to be set up and offerings to be made to them. In 286 it was decreed that sacrifices should be offered to him four times in the year on the imperial altar and on the altar of his own temple. In 55 it was ordered that a temple should be built to him in the capital of every district. At the present time temples of Confucius are found in all the larger cities, and he has become the object of an extensive national cult.

i. Rites Preparatory to Burial.—Immediately before death a person is removed from his bed and placed on a sort of bier consisting of three boards, where he is washed and his head shaved in order that he may make a good appearance on entering the world of spirits. As soon as death occurs the whole family break out

in loud howlings and laments, begging the dead to return and expostulating with him for leaving them. Then follows the curious custom of the "recall of the soul" referred to on p. 18. The relatives now unbraid their cues, and let their hair fly loose (cf. Leviticus, 21:10), and put on garments of coarse brown sackcloth which they wear whenever any funeral rites are being celebrated. The eyes of the corpse are then closed, and the body is washed with water brought from a well into which coins have been thrown as an offering to the indwelling *numen*. Certain jewels that give life are placed in the mouth. A light is kept burning near the body at night, and dishes of food and cups of drink are placed near it, so that if the soul returns, it may at once find nourishment.

The next day the deceased is dressed in an undergarment of cotton or linen, lined with an expensive sort of silk velvet designed to give comfort in the grave, and in new outer garments such as were worn on official occasions during life. A lunch is set out on a table, and a temporary soul-tablet is brought to be occupied by the spirit after the body is placed in the coffin. At the bottom of the coffin a quantity of rice paper is strewn, over this a loose board with seven holes, then a mattress, then a mat, and a small pillow for the head. The body is laid in the coffin, and with it are put a few personal articles such as a pipe, fan, or pen, or in the case of a child, a toy. The remaining space in the coffin is stuffed with "spirit" paper money for use in the other world, the cover is put on and is hermetically sealed.[33]

j. Graves, Tombs, and Mausolea.—In the very earliest times, apparently, the Chinese lived in caverns excavated in the clay cliffs along the banks of their rivers. When a member of the famly died, his body was left in the cave that he had inhabited during life, and it was abandoned by the rest of the household. In

[33] See de Groot, i. pp. 1-240; Doré, i. 41-46.

a slightly more advanced stage of civilisation huts of branches were constructed and plastered with clay, and these also were given up if a death occurred. Out of these two primitive forms of houses all later types of Chinese tombs have developed. They are either subterranean excavations (*mu*), or tumuli (*fên*) that simulate the shape of the ancient huts. When expensive and comfortable houses began to be built, they were no longer surrendered to the dead, but these were provided with abodes of the prehistoric type. In the south of China graves predominate at the present time. In the central and northern provinces hemispherical mounds are more common. These frequently have a stone slab carved to represent a closed door inserted in the front. This is an architectural survival of the primitive hut door. Graves are commonly constructed by digging and packing in earth mixed with lime which forms a solid vault. Tumuli are built up over the coffin which is placed at or near the surface of the ground.

The more elaborate tombs of the wealthy tend to imitate houses. The tumulus corresponds to the central back room of the house. In front of this is a wall bearing the gravestone, which corresponds to the ancestral tablets in the home. In front of this is the "grave hall" which corresponds to the main hall of the house. This contains an altar for offerings to the shades which corresponds to the table in the house on which offerings are placed before the ancestral tablets. In front of the hall is the "grave court" which corresponds to the court in front of the house. These fundamental architectural elements are capable of indefinite elaboration in proportion to the wealth or the rank of the deceased. The most splendid sepulchral monuments of Chinese antiquity that have come down to us are the tombs of the emperors of the Ming dynasty (1368-1643 A.D.). Here the tumulus has become a costly mausoleum, the "soul-tower." The "spirit hall" has

been developed into a temple, and the court into a magnificent avenue of approach flanked with colossal stone images of animals.

k. Rites of Burial.—The poor usually bury their dead on the day after decease. More prosperous people wait until the third day. The wealthy wait sometimes weeks or months in order to determine an auspicious day or an auspicious place for the burial. The art of determining such matters is known as *Fêng-shui.* It is in the hands of experts who demand high fees for their services. It is so difficult to secure proper places for burial that coffins are often stored for years in receiving vaults where they pay rent until a grave can be found. The coffin is carried to the grave on a catafalque borne on the shoulders of fellow-villagers or clansmen. A copper coin is placed in each corner of the grave, and five kinds of cereals and some iron nails are strewn over the bottom. The professor of *Fêng-shui* performs certain rites calculated to render the spiritual climate salubrious, and the coffin is lowered into the grave, amid firing of guns, beating of drums, gongs and cymbals, and howls of lamentation. The permanent soul-tablet is laid upon the coffin, and the sons exclaim, "Father (or Mother), arise!" The spirit thereupon enters into the tablet as its perpetual abiding place. The tablet is removed from the grave, and the temporary tablet, or spirit-banner is put in its place, also slate tablets engraved with a biography of the deceased, and the censer and candlesticks that were used during the funeral services. All these rites which are practised in modern China can be traced back to a high antiquity.[34]

In ancient times all sorts of gifts were placed with the dead in the graves. The *Li-ki,* XIX. ii. 36, says that parched grain, fish, and dried meat were deposited with the dead in the period of the Chou dynasty. The *I-li,* speaking of the same period, enumerates the following

[34] Doré, i. 53-57.

articles that were buried with ordinary officials: "Two baskets of meat, three hampers of millet, panicled millet and wheat, three earthen pots with pickled meat, preserved meat, and sliced food, two earthen jars with must and spirits." In the case of princely or imperial burials enormous quantities of food were placed in the graves. Other articles deposited in the grave during the Chou dynasty were pieces of silk, costly garments, armour, weapons, jewelry, tools, and vessels of various sorts. Huge treasures were interred in the tombs of emperors and feudal princes, and this often led to their rifling in later ages. To prevent this stringent laws were passed and garrisons of troops were stationed to guard the tombs against marauders. Favourite animals were also killed and buried with their owners so that they might be used in the other world.

Human sacrifice was not infrequent in ancient times. The earliest recorded case is in 619 B.C. when one hundred and seventy persons were buried with the prince of Ts'in. About 600 B.C. a certain Wei Wu-tzŭ gave orders before his death that a favourite concubine should be buried alive with him. In 587 B.C. several living persons were interred with Wên, the ruler of Sung. A certain man gave two of his daughters to be buried with the emperor as a sign of gratitude for favours conferred upon his father. In 210 B.C. all childless wives of the emperor were buried with him. Cases of this sort are reported as late as the Ming dynasty (1300 A.D.), and it is said to have happened at the funeral of a Manchu emperor in 1661. This custom is unquestionably a survival of a primitive rite that was practised by all ancient peoples, and that still lingers among savages. Closely akin is the custom of suicide of wives or betrothed maidens, which existed until within a few years.

The waste of property and of life which these sacrifices involved early called forth protests and efforts to substitute less valuable articles. Even under the Chou dynasty

the bows and arrows placed with the dead were unfit for real use. About 650 B.C. Huan, king of Ts'i, complained that all woven stuffs were made up into grave-clothes and shrouds, and all timber into coffins and grave-vaults. He forbade expensive funerals under penalty that the dead should be mangled and the mourners beaten. According to the *Li-ki,* II. i. iii. 22, the philosopher K'ang Tzŭ-kao said: "I have never been of any use to others during my life, and may I do them no harm by my death. When I die select a plot of ground that does not produce any food and bury me there."

Confucius discouraged the burial of costly articles with the dead. "When his disciples wished to give Yen Yuen a costly burial at his death, the Master advised them not to do any such thing, nevertheless they buried him in rich style.[35] In the *Li-ki,* II. i. iii. 3, we read: "If we were to treat the dead as if they were quite alive, we should betray great ignorance. For this reason the bamboo instruments are not quite fit to use, those of earthenware cannot well be washed, nor can those of wood be carved. The citherns and lutes are strung, but not tuned; the mouth-organs and Pandean pipes are in good order, but not attuned to the same key; there are also bells and sonorous stones, but no stands to suspend them from. These things are called instruments for the *manes,* because they are for the use of human souls." According to the *Li-ki,* II. ii. i. 44, "Confucius also said: 'Those who make such implements for the *manes* of the dead show that they are acquainted with the right method of conducting funeral rites; for those implements, although ready at hand, are unfit for actual use. The carts of clay and straw images of men and horses, which have been in vogue since ancient times, are founded on the same principle as the implements for the *manes.*' "

[35] *Lun-yü,* xi. 10.

This shows that long before the time of Confucius the custom had appeared of placing imitations instead of real persons and things with the dead. Little by little this custom displaced that of burying wives, slaves, and animals with their master. Images of stone, wood, clay, or even of straw were substituted in their stead. In course of time paper imitations of all the articles formerly buried with the dead were prepared, and instead of being placed in the grave they were burned at the home during the funeral ceremonies, and the ashes were carried to the grave and deposited there. The custom of placing food and other offerings in the tomb has entirely disappeared from modern China. Under the Chou dynasty, when the burial was completed, an "impersonator" was appointed who, as the representative of the dead partook of food that was set before him. With this "sacrifice of repose," we are told, "the service of him as living ceases, and that for him in his ghostly state begins." [36]

l. Ancestral Shrines and Temples.—The grave is not the only sanctuary of the dead. Besides this there is the place in which the soul-tablets of the ancestors are deposited. In poorer families this consists of a shelf in the main hall of the house directly opposite the front door on which the tablets are placed immediately after the funeral. Wealthier families have special shrines or temples designed for the housing of these tablets. These were the first temples in China. The nature-spirits had only open-air sanctuaries, but spirits of the dead had houses. When a new capital was to be built, the first care was to erect a temple for the ancestors of the reigning house. The new building was consecrated with the blood of victims slain in a dedication sacrifice. In 2258 B.C. [37] Yao resigned the throne to Shun in the temple of the Accomplished Ancestor. At the beginning of his reign Shun sacrificed a bullock in the temple of the Culti-

[36] See de Groot, ii. pp. 361-473; 659-827; Doré, i. 109-113.
[37] *Shu-king*, II. i. 4.

vated Ancestor.[38] Shun invested Yü as his successor in the temple of the Spiritual Ancestor.[39] Under Shun a special officer had charge of the rites in the ancestral temple.[40] In regard to the arrangement of the shrines in the ancestral temple see p. 42. When a dynasty came to an end its ancestral temple was closed and sacrifices were suspended. The reigning monarch proved his right to the throne by erecting a new temple in which his forefathers who had given him the sovereignty enjoyed supreme homage. Frequent mention is made of virtuous descendants who repaired the temples of their ancestors.

m. Rites of Mourning for the Dead.—In the earliest period known to history the Chinese were accustomed to mourn for the dead by leaving their houses and dwelling in sheds, wearing scanty and coarse garments, and fasting. All three of these customs are alluded to in the *Li-ki,* XXXII. 3: "The shabby coat with its edges roughly cut off, and the mourning staff; dwelling in a shed reared against the wall; eating rice gruel there, and sleeping on straw or matting with a clod of earth for a pillow—these things are the outward signs of the deepest grief." De Groot thinks that these rites have grown out of the surrender of property to the dead mentioned above. When the house was abandoned to the corpse, temporary shelters had to be erected for the relatives. When garments and food were buried in the grave, nothing but rags and remnants were left for the survivors. Later, when cheap substitutes were placed in the grave, the ancient forms of poverty were retained through religious conservatism. For other explanations of these ceremonies, which are found among all primitive peoples, see p. 9f. The requirements of mourning were graded according to the nearness of relationship

[38] *Shu-king,* II. i. 8.
[39] *Ibid.,* II. ii. 19.
[40] *Ibid.,* II. i. 23.

to the deceased. In some cases it lasted as long as twenty-seven months, the rigours being slowly abated as time went on.

n. Sacrifices to the Dead.—In addition to the offerings that were placed *in* the grave at the time of burial, offerings were also placed *upon* the grave at stated times subsequently. In proportion as the burial sacrifices declined the other sorts of sacrifice gained in importance. According to the *Li-ki,* chap. V. ii. 19, Confucius, when asked what the son of a concubine ought to do if the son of the principal wife were away, said: "He shall erect an altar in front of the grave, and sacrifice there at each of the four seasons." Mencius speaks of people who lived by picking up the remnants of sacrifices to the dead.

Other sacrifices were offered at the ancestral shrines or temples where the soul-tablets were preserved. These are mentioned with great frequency in the Canonical Books. The Emperor Shun (2255-2205 B.C.), whenever he returned from his tours through the provinces, sacrificed a bullock at the temple of the Cultivated Ancestor.[41] I-Yin, chief minister of T'ang, founder of the Shang dynasty, "in the twelfth month of the first year sacrificed to the former king, and presented the heir to the throne reverently before his ancestor." [42] Wu, the founder of the Chou dynasty, gave as a reason for overthrowing Shou, the last king of the Shang dynasty: "He neglects the temple of his ancestors and does not sacrifice in it. The victims and the vessels of millet all become the prey of wicked robbers." [43] Of King Wên, the ancestor of the house of Chou, it is said: "He never offended against the laws enacted by his ancestors, and he offered to them the red bull in sacrifice.[44] Sacrifices were offered to Wên himself by his successors. "To the virtuous King Wên, worthy of glory and honour, princes

[41] *Shu-king,* II. i. 8.
[42] *Ibid.,* IV. iv. 1.
[43] *Ibid.,* V. i. Pt. i. 6.
[44] *Shi-king,* III. i. Odes 5 and 6.

and officials offer the red bull with great devotion." [45] Concerning Wu, the founder of the Chou dynasty, we read: "On the day *ting-wei* he sacrificed in the ancestral temple of Chou, when the chiefs of the imperial domain, and of the *tien, hou,* and *wei* domains all hurried about carrying the dishes." [46] The Odes also narrate: "King Wu offered sacrifices to his meritorious father and accomplished mother. A bull was offered, and the praises of Wên were sung, whose wisdom in peace and might in war gave repose even in high heaven." [47] King Ch'êng, the successor of Wu, "led his brilliant assembly of ministers and princes to the shrine of his father, to whom he made his offerings and accomplished his filial duty." [48]

Deceased emperors were also worshipped at the time of the annual sacrifice on the altar of Heaven. On the top of the altar on the north side the tablet of Heaven was placed. On the east and west sides stood the tablets of the imperial ancestors. Before each tablet offerings of food were spread, the emperor burned sticks of incense, laid before each a piece of jade and a roll of silk, presented a bowl of broth, and poured out a libation of rice wine. This sacrifice was in existence in the time of the Emperor Shun, and it lasted down to the fall of the late Manchu dynasty. The sacrifice offered to Heaven was known as *chiao,* that to the ancestors as *yin.*

The materials of sacrifice included every sort of food that was acceptable to men. These are enumerated in the odes of the *Shi-king* and in the ceremonial directions of the *Li-ki.* Bullocks, sheep and swine were the animals commonly offered. They were slain inside the gate of the ancestral temple, the fat was burned in a furnace for a sweet savour, and the meat was cooked and presented on platters before the ancestral tablets. Meat broth was also served, or poured out to the spirits as libations. One

[45] *Shi-king,* IV. i. Odes 1-10.
[46] *Shu-king,* V. iii. 3.
[47] *Shi-king,* IV. i. ii. Ode 7.
[48] *Ibid.,* Ode 8.

of the odes of the Chou period says: "Oxen and sheep without blemish are brought in an orderly and reverent manner for the sacrifices in autumn and winter. Some men are deputed to cut up the flesh, others to boil it; some divide the meat, others set it out in order. Inside of the gate of the ancestral temple the officiating person presents his sacrifice. In its variety the service is complete and splendid in its general effect." [49] Fish of all sorts were presented to the deified emperors in the ancestral temple at the time of the winter sacrifices. Fruits and vegetables also were offered. Cooked dishes in endless variety were prepared by the ladies of the imperial harem to add to the sacrificial meats. In the earliest times water was the only liquid offered to the shades in libations (as in ancient Babylonia), and it retained its place in the ritual down to late times; but after the discovery of distillation it was thought that strong drink was more acceptable to the spirits. "Morning and evening King Wên never wearied in teaching that strong drink must be used in sacrifice." This liquor was distilled from various kinds of millet and rice, and was flavoured with different sorts of herbs and spices. Besides food and drink precious objects of any sort might be offered to the ancestors, such as gems, jade stones, precious metals and pieces of silk. To sum it all up, there was nothing valued by man that was not suitable in sacrifice to the dead.

The sacrifices were accompanied with music, singing, and dancing. As one of the odes says: "The flute players dance to the organ and the drum, the instruments all playing in harmony. This is done to gratify the meritorious ancestors." [50] These dances were solemn pantomimes exhibiting scenes in the lives of the famous forefathers. During the Chou period a favourite subject was Wu's victory over Shou, the last king of the Shang

[49] *Shi-king*, II. vi. Ode 5.
[50] *Ibid.*, vii. Ode 6, 2.

dynasty. Target practice was another ceremony "to give pleasure to the august personators of the dead." "The great target is set up, the bows and arrows are ready for the archers, who are matched in classes. 'Show your skill,' shouts one. 'I shall hit the mark,' responds the other, 'and then you will have to drink the cup.' "

The purpose of all these offerings is to provide the dead with the same things that they have enjoyed on earth. They need these things, and if they have no descendants to supply them, they suffer from the lack. When these offerings are presented, they draw near to enjoy them, they are pleased with the filial piety that is shown, and they bless the sacrificer.

Sacrifices were at the same time feasts in which the living shared the viands with the dead and thus held communion with them. They were great family reunions to which all the descendants and friends of the honoured dead were invited. One of these memorial feasts is described in the odes as follows: "When the guests first go to sit on their mats, they take their seats orderly on the left and the right. The dishes of bamboo and of wood are set out containing sauces and kernels. The liquors are blended and good. The guests drink with reverence. . . . The company is happy and full of joy, each exerting himself to the full extent of his ability. A guest draws the liquor, which an attendant takes in a cup. The full cup is handed to the guests—the cup of requiem (cf. Jeremiah, 16:7). . . . When the guests first take their seats on the mats they are harmonious and reverent. In manner they are dignified before they have drunk too much; but after they have drunk too much their dignity disappears and their manners become frivolous. They leave their seats and dance and caper around. . . . Had they gone out before drinking so deeply, both host and guest would have been happier." At the conclusion of the feast the assembled guests praised the king who had invited them, saying:

"On account of your filial piety in offering sacrifices to the spirits of your ancestors, Heaven will protect and establish you, making you very strong and conferring upon you all happiness." [51]

These sacrificial feasts for the dead were celebrated regularly at the summer and winter solstices and at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. "Once every season worship was performed. . . . They repaired and beautified the temple of their ancestors, set forth the vessels that had belonged to them, displayed their various robes, and presented the offerings of the several seasons." [52] Ch'eng-I, a famous scholar of the eleventh century of our era, had a temple connected with his house and furnished with the spirit-tablets of his ancestors. "Before these on the first day of each month he set forth fresh offerings. He observed the seasonal services in the second month of each season. At the winter solstice he sacrificed to his remotest ancestor; in the beginning of the spring, to his grandfather; and in the third month of autumn, to his father. On the anniversary of a death, he removed the tablet of the individual to the principal adytum of the temple, and there performed a special service; for the rites of the service of the dead ought to be observed more liberally than the duty of nourishing the living." [53] In the temple of the imperial ancestors there were also sacrifices on special occasions such as a time of drought or a time of war. The so-called *Ti* sacrifice was offered every fifth year to the remote ancestors of the emperor. On the fifteenth day of the seventh moon a sort of All Soul's Day was observed for the benefit of "hungry ghosts" who had no relatives to provide for them. On this day people generally made offerings to these "orphan spirits" to appease them and to keep them from troubling the living.[54]

[51] *Shi-king,* II. vii. Ode 6.
[52] *Doctrine of the Mean,* Chap. xix.
[53] Legge, *The Religions of China,* p. 86.
[54] See p. 141f.

The value of the sacrifice depended largely upon the minute and punctilious performance of the traditional ceremonial, there was therefore a Minister of Ritual who had charge of all the services at the temple of the imperial ancestors. I-Yin, the minister of T'ang, said: "It is difficult to serve the spirits by sacrifice. The offering must be made orderly and with reverence. If presented in a disorderly and irregular fashion, it indicates a spirit of irreverence. If the ceremonial connected with it is troublesome or irritating, it causes disorder." At the same time with all this ritualism we find utterances concerning the nature of true worship that remind us of the Hebrew prophets. The same I-Yin just mentioned said also: "The ancestral spirits accept the sacrifices only of the sincere in heart." Another classical passage says: "The incense of good conduct is more acceptable to them than the most costly spices burnt in a censer." "The fragrant incense which moves the *shên* and the bright ones arises from perfect government and not from the sacrifice of millet"; with which may be compared 1 Samuel 15:22, "Behold to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams." In the *Li-ki* it is said that sacrifice, being a fixed custom handed down from past ages and to be carried out in definite forms, should not be accompanied with prayer, or be offered in the hope of deriving any personal benefit therefrom. Confucius quoted this opinion with approval, but it is contrary to the spirit of the ancient Chronicles and of the Odes, where the rule is *do ut des,* and the expectation is that the sacrificer will receive a rich reward for his filial service.

o. Prayer to the Dead.—All important events, such as births, marriage engagements, deaths, business undertakings, journeys and returns, are solemnly announced at the "family altar" before the ancestral tablets. In the *Li-ki,* V. i. 1, we are told: "Tsêng-tzŭ asked: 'When a successor to the throne is born after the demise of

the ruler of the state, how is one to act?' Confucius said: 'The highest nobles, great officers and ordinary officers shall take a position behind the minister who administers the empire *ad interim,* at the south side of the western steps, turning their faces to the north. The Great Invoker, in his court robes and cap, bearing rolls of silk in his hands, shall then go up to the top of the western steps; and there, without entering the hall, he shall, when the wailers have been ordered to stop their cries, call three times (to the soul) and make announcement to it, saying: "The son of such-and-such a lady has been born; I presume to inform thee of this event." ' " At all sacrifices the ancestors are invoked to be present, and the hymns that are sung are largely praises of their virtues. The quality most celebrated in the forefathers is their filial piety toward their own ancestors. Petitions for blessing were presented to the shades in connection with all sacrifices; and in times of war, famine, pestilence, or other distress special litanies were addressed to them.

The most famous instance of prayer to the dead in the ancient literature is the supplication of the Duke of Chou in behalf of his brother, King Wu. "He made three altars of earth on the same cleared space; and having made another altar on the south, facing the north, he there took his own position. The convex symbols were put on their altars, and he himself held his mace, while he addressed the kings T'ai, Chi and Wên. The historian wrote on tablets his prayer as follows: 'Wu, your chief descendant, is suffering from a severe and dangerous sickness. If you three kings have in heaven the charge of watching over him, the great son, let me, Tan, be a substitute for his person. I have been lovingly obedient to my father. I am possessed of many abilities and arts which fit me to serve spiritual beings. Your chief descendant, on the other hand, has not so many abilities and arts as I, and is not so capable of serving spiritual beings. Moreover, he was appointed in the

celestial hall to extend his aid to the four quarters of the empire so that he might establish your descendants in this lower world. The people of the four quarters stand in reverent awe of him. Oh! do not let that precious Heaven-conferred appointment fall to the ground, and our former kings will also have a perpetual reliance and resort.' " [55] One of the finest poems of the Shi-king [56] is a prayer of King Hsüan to his ancestors in time of drought.

The spirits were believed to be specially attentive to prayers of an unselfish character. "The prayers of the men who strive after friendship will be heard by the *shên,* who will bestow upon them peace and harmony." Kings prayed therefore that their minds might be enlightened so that they might follow the good example of their forefathers and bring peace and prosperity to their people.

p. Exorcism of Spirits of the Dead.—This discussion would not be complete without some mention of the methods of driving away hostile spirits. As early as the Classics mention is made of the *no* or *yang* sacrifice to ward off evil spirits. This was performed three times in the year: in the last month of spring, in mid-autumn, and in the last month of winter. Victims were cut in pieces and placed in the city gates in order to ward off unpropitious influences. These sacrifices were occasions of noisy demonstration to frighten away the restless ghosts. In the *Li-ki* (IX. i. 16) it is recorded of Confucius, "When his fellow-citizens celebrated the *yang,* he put on his court robes and took position on the eastern steps, in order to shield his household gods." Evidently Confucius was afraid that the din of the *yang* might frighten away his ancestral spirits as well as the demons for which it was intended.

The chief methods of exorcising evil spirits are offerings such as are presented to friendly spirits, and in addi-

[55] *Shu-king,* V. vi. 6-7.
[56] *Shi-king,* III. iii. Ode 4.

tion prophylactic rites such as are not needed in the case of good ghosts. Among the latter noises of every sort occupy a conspicuous place. Fire-crackers are exploded, gongs and drums are beaten, and trumpets are blown in order to terrify the spectres. Since evil demons belong to the *Yin,* or realm of darkness, they are successfully combatted with light, fire, and fire-works, which belong to the *Yang* principle of the universe. Devils are driven out of sick men by cauterizing them, or by giving them nasty drugs to drink. Peach wood has extraordinary virtue in warding off demons, hence twigs of this tree, or amulets made of its wood, are extensively used as charms. Pictures or images of tigers or of cocks are also efficacious. Weapons of various sorts when displayed in conspicuous ways frighten the spirits away from houses. Written charms, especially passages from the Classical Books, are suspended at the doors of houses, or are worn on the person to avert evil influences. The *wu,* whom we have met already as mediums possessed by the spirits, act also as exorcists to drive away hostile ghosts. This is also the main function of the Taoist and Buddhist priests. In general it may be said that fear of evil spirits occupies quite as large a place in the Chinese mind as reverence for good spirits.

CHAPTER III

SPIRITISM AMONG THE INDO-EUROPEANS

a. Distribution and Characteristics of the Indo-Europeans.—By Indo-Europeans we mean a group of races extending from Northern India to the Atlantic, which speaks kindred languages and possesses similar religions and social institutions. To this group belong:—

1. *The Aryans of Northern India.*—In the second millennium B.C. this race began to push through the passes of the Himalayas and to settle in the Punjab. It drove the older Dravidian population before it, until they were expelled from Hindustan and were concentrated in the Deccan, with the exception of slaves and low castes that were assimilated by the invaders. The language of the Aryans was Sanskrit, and in the *Rig Veda* we have a collection of their earliest hymns dating from about 1000-800 B.C. Later Sanskrit literature includes the remaining Vedas, the two great epics, the *Mahabhārata* and *Ramayana,* the philosophic writings of the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads,* the *Laws of Manu,* and many other works.

2. *The Iranians of Media and Persia.*—The Iranians and the related nomadic tribes which the Assyrians called Gâgu (Heb. Gôg) and Umman Manda, and the Classical writers grouped under the general name of Scythians must have entered the ancient kingdom of Elam about the same time that the Aryans entered India. Their language Iranian, or Zend, appears in the inscriptions of the Achæmenian kings of the sixth century B.C. and in the *Avesta,* the sacred book of the Zoroastrian religion. Zoroaster, the prophet-reformer of Iran, who

is believed to have flourished in the seventh century B.C., has left his teaching in the *Gathas,* the oldest portion of the *Avesta.* The other parts of the *Avesta* contain the later traditional development of his teaching. The *Avesta* has been preserved by the Parsees of the Bombay Presidency in India, who are the sole-remaining adherents of the ancient Zoroastrian religion. The language of the Achæmenian inscriptions and of the *Avesta* is as nearly related to Sanskrit as Spanish is to Italian.

3. *The Phrygians and Armenians of Asia Minor and Armenia.*—Here the dominant class that gave its language and its institutions to the nation was akin to the Aryans of Persia and India, while the lower classes that eventually mixed with the conquerors were the aboriginal populations of the land. No ancient literature has come down from these peoples, but survivals of folk-lore among the Armenians throw light upon their primitive religious conceptions.

4. *The Hittite-Mitanni Group.*—The Hittites are first mentioned in a Babylonian chronicle as invading Babylonia during the reign of Samsuditana, the last king of the first dynasty of Babylon (1956-1926 B.C.). From that time onward they play an important part in the history of Western Asia until their destruction by the Assyrian Empire after 1000 B.C. The excavation by Winckler of Boghazkeui, the ancient Hittite capital, disclosed a large number of tablets written in Babylonian cuneiform characters but in the Hittite language. Since the death of Winckler these have been studied by F. Hrozný,[1] who maintains that their dialect belongs to the so-called *centum,* or western group of Indo-Germanic languages, which includes Greek, Italic, Germanic, and Celtic, in which the word for 'hundred' is *centum* (pronounced *kentum*) or a cognate; in distinction from the *satem,* or eastern group, in which the word for 'hun-

[1] *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft,* lvi, 1915; xxx, 1920; *Boghazköi-Studien,* 1920.

dred' is *satem* or a cognate. Its nearest affiliations are with Latin.

The Mitanni people of Northern Syria, who first appear in the Tell el-Amarna letters, written to the Egyptian Pharaohs Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV about 1400 B.C., were closely connected with the Hittites. Documents discovered at Boghazkeui show that the ruling dynasty in Mitanni worshipped the Aryan gods Varuna and Mithra. They called themselves Ḥarri, which perhaps is identical with "Aryans." [2]

5. *The Slavs.*—The eastern branch of this race includes the Great Russians of Russia proper, the White Russians of Western Russia who live along the upper waters of the Dnieper River, the Little Russians of the Ukraine and of Austria-Hungary where they are called Ruthenians, and the Cossacks of the Crimea and eastward. The northern branch includes the Letts who inhabit the Russian provinces of Vitebsk, Livonia and Courland on the eastern side of the Baltic; the Lithuanians south of the Letts; and the Prussians, who until the tenth century inhabited the lowlands at the mouths of the Niemen, Vistula and Oder. Later they were conquered and Germanized by the Teutonic Knights. The western branch includes the Poles, whose kingdom was partitioned during the eighteenth century between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, but which has been reconstituted as a result of the recent World-War; the Wends who dwell in the Spreewald on the upper waters of the River Spree in Saxony and Prussia; the Czechs, or Bohemians, together with the Slovaks to the east and the Moravians to the south, who speak practically the same language, and are now united in the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia. The southern branch, or Jugo-Slavs, includes the Slovenes, Slavonians, Dalmatians, Montenegrins, Serbians

[2] See H. Winckler, *Mittheilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, XXXV, 1908; E. Meyer, "Das erste Auftreten der Arier in der Geschichte," *Sitzungsbericht d. könig. preuss. Akademie*, Berlin, 1908, pp. 14ff.

and Bulgarians, who occupy a broad belt running from west to east, south of Austria-Hungary and Roumania.

The Slavs have left no ancient literary records, but they have retained old ideas and institutions more perfectly than any other branch of the Indo-European race. The White Russians have preserved ancestor-worship of a most primitive type in full force down to the present time. The North Slavic languages, Lettish, Lithuanian, and old Prussian, disclose some very early features of Indo-European speech. On one side they are closely related to Sanskrit, on another side to the West Slavic dialects; and they are nearer to Latin than they are to Celtic or Teutonic. They occupy a unique place in Indo-European philology. Among the North Slavs heathenism lasted longer than in any other part of Europe, so that their early institutions have remained unchanged almost down to the present. As late as 1550 the Lutheran pastor Jan Maleki (Meletius, or Menecius) reported in regard to the heathenism that still existed among the Prussian peasants, and about 1660 another Lutheran pastor, Matthæus Prætorius, found the conditions unchanged. The Northern Slavs occupy much the same place among the Indo-Europeans that the Arabs do among the Semites. They have best preserved the primitive culture of their race. Consequently, students of comparative religion go to them to find the earliest forms of rites that have been elaborated in India, Persia, Greece, and Italy.

6. *The Greeks.*—As early perhaps as 1500 B.C. the Achæans and Ionians had begun to settle in Northern Greece, and in the following centuries they gradually pressed southward, dispossessing or assimilating the older non-Aryan, Mediterranean race which was akin to the Berbers and Egyptians of North Africa. These aborigines were called Pelasgians by the invaders. They were the originators of the splendid Ægean civilisation in Crete and at Troy, Mycenæ and Tiryns that reached its culmination about 1500 B.C. The earliest Greek civili-

sation is known to us only from archæological remains, but the period from 1000 B.C. onward is represented by the Homeric epics, which originally were transmitted orally, but which subsequently were committed to writing about 700 B.C. From this time onward an unbroken stream of literature testifies to the beliefs of the ancient Greeks in regard to spirits of the dead. The Greek language and some elements of the Greek race survive among the modern Greeks and the Albanians.

7. *The Latins.*—As early as the Achæan migration into Greece other Indo-European tribes penetrated Italy, driving before them the aboriginal Alpine and Mediterranean inhabitants of the peninsula. These tribes were eventually united under the rule of Rome, and Latin became the speech of the entire peninsula. It is nearly related to Greek on the one side and to Celtic on the other.

8. *The Celts.*—In Classical times the Celts occupied the northern part of Italy, the Alps, and the regions west of the Alps, where they had dispossessed more or less completely the Picts, Ligurians, Iberians and other non-Aryan peoples. They were conquered by the Romans, and adopted the Latin language; so that the fundamentally Celtic Walloons of Belgium and the Gauls speak French, and the Celto-Iberians of the Spanish peninsula speak Spanish and Portuguese, all of which are descendants of Latin. In the British Isles the Celts were conquered by Teutons, and here their languages have given place to English, a Teutonic tongue. Only in isolated corners of the old Celtic world have Celtic dialects survived. The Goidelic group includes the Gaels of northern Scotland, the Manx of the Island of Man, and the Irish. The Brythonic group includes the Welsh, the last survivors of the ancient Britons; the Cornish of Cornwall, which has become extinct within the last century; and the Bretons of Brittany in the northwest corner of France. The Celtic languages bear a much

closer affinity to Latin than they do to any other Indo-European dialects. These languages possess no ancient literatures; still, in all the regions where they survive, exceedingly primitive beliefs and institutions have been preserved.

9. *The Teutons.*—The original seat of this branch of the Indo-European race was in the Scandinavian peninsula. Before the beginning of the Christian era they had forced their way in between the Celts and the Slavs, dispossessing or absorbing tribes of both races, and occupying the whole region north of the Alps between the Rhine and the Oder rivers. They menaced the Celts west of the Rhine, and Julius Cæsar had to make a campaign against them in order to prevent their invasion of the Roman province of Gaul. In the fourth century under pressure of the Huns the Teutons again began to push westward and southward. After the downfall of the Huns under Attila in 451, the Teutons entered into their heritage. In 476 Odoacer, chief of the Heruli, sacked Rome and forced the last emperor to abdicate. In the course of the following century all the former provinces of the Roman Empire fell into the hands of the Vandals, Goths, Lombards, Burgundians, Franks and Saxons, branches of the Teutonic race, and it looked as though the Teutonizing of Europe would be complete; but the Celto-Roman civilisation of the Empire eventually absorbed the conquerors, and the Teutonic languages and institutions remained limited to the areas that had been occupied at the beginning of the Christian era. The present Teutonic peoples are the Icelanders, Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Frisians, Dutch, Flemings, British, and Germans.

These then are the main branches of the Indo-European race. It is frequently called the Aryan race, though less correctly, since this name belongs properly to the Indo-Iranians. No other race in history has spread so widely and has preserved its language and its institu-

tions so tenaciously. No other race has played so large a part in the development of civilisation. It began its career later than the Hamites or the Semites, but it absorbed all that was best in their attainments and far outstripped them. Aryan civilisation now dominates the world; and the Arabic, Chinese, and other ancient Oriental cultures are rapidly disappearing before it. It is the most gifted race that humanity has produced, and it has lived in the most favourable environment.

b. Civilisation of the Primitive Indo-Europeans.— The close resemblances of all the languages of the branches of this race prove that it must once have been a single people dwelling within a more contracted area. Its original home was probably the steppes of Eastern Russia and Western Asia. This region lies at the centre of the present Indo-European world, and is the natural cradle for a race of wanderers and conquerors. These steppes support only a nomadic population and yield only a scanty sustenance. When pasture and water become scarce, some tribes have to move out and seek new homes. The physical characteristics of this region are thus similar to those of Central Arabia, the cradle of the Semitic races, and to Central Asia, the cradle of the Turanian races. Here as early as 3000 B.C. there wandered over a vast area a group of tribes speaking similar dialects and possessing a similar degree of culture. Comparative philology and archæology reveal much of their primitive language and institutions. They knew the use of copper (or bronze), for the word for this metal is found in widely separated Indo-European languages; on the other hand, they did not know gold, silver, or iron, for these metals have different names in the different languages. Stone was still used for most of the weapons. They had clubs, axes, daggers, spears and lances, bows and arrows, but no swords or armour. They had cattle, sheep and goats, and also horses, which they used both for riding and for drawing carts and chariots.

Swine, geese, and other domestic fowl were as yet unknown to them. Agriculture was known to them, for the words for field, plough, sow, reap, grind, are common to most of the languages. They possessed the arts of spinning and weaving, they used boats, and they had huts and houses, and built folds for their cattle. They were patriarchally organised, and the house-father was both ruler and priest of his household. Groups of kindred families united under the leadership of an elected chieftain called *vis-pati,* or 'lord of the settlers,' a name that still survives in the Lithuanian *wiéz-pati,* or 'governor.'

The most prominent feature in the religion of the primitive Indo-Europeans was the worship of the bright powers of nature. The most general name for 'god' was *deivos,* 'heavenly,' from which comes Skr. *devá,* Lat. *deus,* Ir. *dia,* Lith. *diẽwas,* and Old Nor. *tívar.* Chief among the heavenly ones was *dyêus,* 'the sky,' from which comes Skr. *Dyâús,* Gr. *Zeus,* Lat. *Jup-piter* (*i. e.,* 'sky-father'), Old Nor. *Týr,* Old High Germ. *Ziu,* A. Sax. *Tiu* (from which comes Tues-day). In Skr. *Dyâús* has retained its primitive appellative meaning 'sky,' in the other languages its etymology has been forgotten and it has become the personal name of the chief god of the pantheon. On the contrary, *ouranos* has retained in Greek its primitive meaning 'sky,' while in Sanskrit *Varuna* has become a great god. Other objects of worship were the sun, Skr. *sūrya,* Iran. *hvar,* Ar. *arev,* Gr. *hēlios,* Lat. *sol,* Celt. *heul,* Lith. *sáulé,* Goth. *sauil;* the moon, Skr. *mâs,* Iran. *mah,* Armen. *lūsin,* Gr. *mēnē,* Lat. *luna,* Lith. *ménu,* Goth. *mêna;* the dawn, Skr. *ushás,* Iran. *ušah,* Gr. *ēōs,* Lat. *aurora,* Lith. *auszrà.* The thunder-god was worshipped by all the Aryans, but under different appellations. In India and Mitanni he was known as *Indra;* among the Celts as *Torannos,* Irish *Torann,* Welsh *Tarann,* Cornish *Taran;* among the Teutons as *Tonar,* O. Nor. *Thórr,* O. H. Germ. *Donar,* Germ. *Donner,* Eng. *Thunder.* These Celtic and Teu-

tonic names are all connected with Skr. *stanáyati,* Lat. *tonat,* 'it thunders.' Among the Lithuanians he was called *Perkúnas,* which is the same as Slavic *Perun* and Sanskrit *Parjanya,* and probably also Armenian Erkin. There was also a lightning (fire)-god, Skr. *Agni,* Lat. *ignis,* Lith. *ugnìs,* Slav. *ognĭ.* In Latin and in Slavic the name retained its primitive meaning, but in Sanskrit the original signification was obscured, and therefore Agni developed into a great god. Besides these there was a vast number of so-called "departmental gods" who presided over different realms of nature or sections of human life. Comparative philology shows that the great gods are all later developments of particular Aryan religions, and that the primitive faith had not risen above the level of so-called Animism or Polydæmonism.

A second main feature of Indo-European religion was the worship of spirits of the dead. Over against the "heavenly ones," the bright powers of the upper world, stood a host of subterranean divinities, among whom spirits of the dead occupied the most conspicuous place. These two classes of divinities, nature-spirits and spirits of the dead, were distinct in their origin, in their functions, and in their manner of worship. The second of these must now receive our more detailed consideration.[3]

[3] On ancestor-worship among the Indo-Europeans in general see H. Usener, *Götternamen,* 1896; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums,*[2] 1909, vol. i, part 2, pp. 754-838; O. Schrader, art. "Aryan Religion" in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* ii, 1910, pp. 11-57, and the literature given in both of these works; G. F. Moore, *History of Religions,* i, 1913; E. W. Hopkins, *The History of Religions,* 1918.

On India, see *Rig Veda,* translated in *Sacred Books of the East,* xxxii, and xlvi, 1891, 1897; *Atharva Veda,* translated by Whitney and Lanman, 1905; A. Barth, *The Religions of India,* translated by J. Wood, 1882; E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India,* 1895; W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India,* 1896; M. Bloomfield, *The Religion of the Veda,* 1908; W. Crooke, art. "Ancestor-worship (Indian)" in Hastings, *Enc. Rel. and Eth.,* i, pp. 450-454.

On Persia, see *The Avesta,* translated by Darmesteter and Mills in *Sacred Books of the East,* iv, xxiii, xxxi, 1880-1897; A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran;* E. Lehmann, art. "Ancestor-worship (Iranian)" in Hastings, *Enc. Rel. and Eth.,* i, pp. 454f.; J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism,* 1913.

On Armenia see M. Abeghian, *Der Armenische Volksglaube,* 1899.

On the Greeks, see L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States,* 1896-1909;

c. Indo-European Names for Spirits.—The early Aryans, like other ancient peoples, conceived of the soul as breath, wind, vapour, smoke, shadow, power; and these meanings underlie all the later words for soul or spirit. Thus Skr. *âtmán,* 'soul' = Germ. *athem* and Ir. *athach,* 'breath.' Skr. *mánas,* 'soul' =Gr. *menos,* 'force,' which reappears in Lat. *Minerva* from *Menes-ova.* In the Vedas the collective term for spirits of the dead is *pitáras,* 'forefathers' = Lat. *patres.* In the Avesta spirits of the dead are called *fravashis.* The word *fravashi* means 'expression,' or 'confession,' and is so used because the soul is the inner nature of a man. This is probably a theological development of Zoroastrianism which has displaced a simpler terminology. In Armenian the word for 'soul' and 'spirit' is *ogi* = Skr. *âtmán* and Germ. *athem,* 'breath.'

In Gr. *pneuma* means primarily 'breath,' and then 'soul'; *psuchē* likewise means 'breath, spirit,' and in Homer is used exclusively of the discarnate spirit.

Miss J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion,* 1903; E. Rohde, *Psyche, Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen,*[4] 1907; E. G. Sihler, *Testimonium Animæ,* 1908; A. Fairbanks, *Handbook of Greek Religion,* 1910; W. Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy,* 1910; H. M. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age,* 1912; G. Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion,* 1912; Miss J. E. Harrison, *Themis, A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion;* L. R. Farnell, art. "Greek Religion" in Hastings, *Enc. Rel. and Eth.,* vi, 1914, pp. 392-425; C. H. Moore, *The Religious Thought of the Greeks,* 1916.

On the Romans, see F. Granger, *The Worship of the Romans,* 1895; W. W. Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic,* 1899; J. B. Carter, *The Religion of Numa,* 1906; J. B. Carter, art. "Ancestor-worship (Roman)" in Hastings, *Enc. Rel. and Eth.,* i, 1908, pp. 461-466; W. W. Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People,* 1911.

On the Celts, see J. Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom,* 1888; J. A. Macculloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts,* 1911; G. Henderson, *Survivals in Belief among the Celts,* 1911; A. Macbain, *Celtic Mythology and Religion,* 1917.

On the Slavs, see Peter of Dusburg in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum,* vol. i; Joannes Menecius, *de sacrificiis et idolatria veterum Borussorum, Livonum, aliarumque vicinarum gentium, in Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum,* ii; M. Prætorius, *Deliciæ Prussicæ, oder preussische Schaubühne,* ed. W. Pierson, 1871; F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven,* 1885; J. W. E. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald-und Feldkulte aus nordeuropäische Ueberlieferung erläutert,* 1875-7, 2d ed. 1905; H. Usener, *Götternamen,* 1896, pp. 79-122; L. Léger, *La Mythologie Slave,* 1901; art. "Ancestor-worship (Slavonic)" in Hastings, *Enc. Rel. and Eth.* i, 1908, pp. 466.

On the Teutons, see E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie,* 1891; P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons,* 1902; F. B. Gummere, *Germanic Origins,* 1892; W. Golther, *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie,* 1895.

Thumos, which is used by Homer as a synonym of *psuchē,* is the same as Skr. *dhûmá,* Lat. *fûmus,* 'smoke.' Another ancient Greek term for 'spirit' is *kēr,* which is the same as *kēr,* 'heart.' This is used because the heart, as the chief receptacle of blood in the body, is regarded as the seat of the soul.[4] In Homer the collective body of the departed is known as *nekues,* 'the dead,' or *en(f)eroi* = Lat. *inferi,* 'those beneath'; but instead of these explicit terms later writers preferred euphemisms such as *aōroi,* 'the untimely,' or *chrēstoi,* 'the beneficent.'

In Latin *anima* means 'breeze, breath, life,' and *animæ* is used of spirits of the dead. *Animus* is 'soul' and is identical with Greek *anemos,* 'wind.' The Latin conception of the *genius* is peculiar. *Genius* is derived from *gigno,* 'beget,' and the marriage-bed is known as *lectus genialis.* Every man has his *genius* and every woman her *juno.* On the birthday rites of worship were paid to one's *genius* or *juno* as the case might be. The celebrant clad in white, with a garland on his head, offered incense, cakes and wine and prayed for protection during the coming year. Buildings, regions, towns, cities, trades, and other groups of men, were thought to have their *genii.* The *genius,* accordingly, seems to have been a guardian-spirit, who was born with a man, and who shared his experiences in life and in death. The conception was thus similar to the Egyptian *ka,* and may have been derived from the pre-Latin inhabitants of Italy, who probably belonged to the same Mediterranean race as the Egyptians.[5] Spirits of the dead were grouped under the collective name of *di manes,* 'kind gods,' a euphemism designed to avoid actual mention of their names. They were also known as *inferi,* 'those beneath' and *umbræ,* 'shadows, shades.' Apparently the *lares* were guardian-spirits of the hearth and of the home, who were honoured with domestic rites, and were originally

[4] See p. 201.
[5] See p. 155.

the ancestors of the family who watched over its interests. Etymologically the word is connected with *larva,* 'ghost,' and with *larentalia,* the festival of the dead.

The Celts of Gaul, according to Augustine,[6] and Isidore,[7] called spirits of the dead *dusii.* The word is connected with Lith. *dwãse,* 'breath' 'spirit,' and *dùsas,* 'vapour,' and with Old Slav, *duchŭ,* 'breath,' 'spirit,' and *duša,* 'soul.' In the same series probably belongs Gr. *theós,* 'god,' from an original *th(f)esos.*

Among the Slavs the peasants of Great Russia speak of the dead as *roditeli,* 'parents,' and those of White Russia as *dzjady,* 'grandfather.' These terms are applied to deceased relatives of both sexes and even to children. They correspond to the Sanskrit *pitáras.*

The Goths, according to Jordanis (chap. 13), called their deified ancestors *anses.* This is probably connected with Skr. *ásu,* 'breath,' life,' and with Skr. *ásura* and Avest. *ahura,* 'god,' 'lord,' which appears in Ahuramazda, the supreme God of the Avesta. The Norse equivalent *asen* denoted the highest gods of the pantheon. On the other hand, in Ang. Sax. the word *ése* was degraded to mean 'elves.' The Norse word for 'soul' is *fylgja,* 'follower.' It is evidently developed out of the shadow which follows a man, and it corresponds to the Latin *umbra.* Our word *soul,* German *Seele,* probably means 'lively,' 'active,' like the Skr. *mánas.* Our word *ghost,* German *Geist,* 'spirit,' as in Old English and in the combination Holy Ghost, is etymologically connected with *gust.*

These names show that the primitive Indo-Europeans did not conceive the spirits of the dead as immaterial, but as having an ethereal substance like the living body. This view is confirmed by narratives of the appearances of ghosts. In all cases they have shadowy or vaporous

[6] *Civ, Dei,* xv. 23.
[7] *Lib. Etymol.* viii. 11, 103.

forms that resemble those in which they appeared on earth.

d. Powers Retained by the Dead.—The future life was conceived by the Indo-Europeans as essentially similar to the present life. The dead dwelt in communities and carried on the same occupations that they had followed on earth. They still needed food, clothing and shelter; and, strange to say, they were unable to provide these for themselves, but depended on the generosity of the living. Hence everywhere the need was felt for sons to keep up the ancestral cult; and if there were no sons, others were adopted to perform their functions.

In the *Rig Veda* the dead still require food, and come back to their former homes to demand it. If they are not fed, they will vent their wrath upon their families. In the *Ramayana* sons are considered necessary in order that they may make the proper offerings to the shades of their fathers. In the modern cremation ritual the Brahman says: "Unwillingly do the *manes* of the deceased taste the tears and rheum shed by their kinsmen; then do not wail, but diligently perform the obsequies of the dead." [8]

In the *Avesta* [9] we read: "We invoke the good, the mighty, the holy *fravashis* of the righteous, who descend to the villages at the time of the *Hamaspathmaêdaya*, and return thither every night for ten nights to ask for help. Will anybody praise us? Will anybody pay homage to us? Who will accept us among his own? Who will bless us? Who will receive us with a handful of meat, and a garment, and sacred reverence?" The passage goes on to say that the person who will fulfil these obligations shall be richly blessed during the coming year. In Greece food was placed in graves and upon them, and in some parts of the land tubes were inserted in graves through which the blood of sacrifices could flow down

[8] Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, p. 245.
[9] *Yasht*, xiii. 49-52.

to the dead. In the *Odyssey* [10] the shades eagerly lap the blood that Odysseus has poured into the sacrificial trench, and he has to drive away with his sword those whom he does not wish to consult.

On Roman tombstones the dead beg for offerings. "Travellers who crown me and offer me flowers," says Victor Fabianus, "may ye find the gods propitious." A little child asks its playmates to come to its grave, bringing cups of wine, and to pray that the earth may lie light upon her. The *jus manium,* or dues of the dead, formed an important topic in early Roman law. The fundamental principle was that the offerings to ancestors should not be remitted: *perpetua sacra sunto.* Cicero [11] cites an ancient law: "Let private sacrifices continue forever," "Keep sacred the laws concerning the divine dead." The first duty of an heir was to care for these offerings, and their expense constituted a first lien on the estate. The adoption of an heir always involved abjuring of the ancestral obligations of his own clan. This required the consent of the Comitia Curiata, and was not permitted unless there were other persons capable of carrying on the ancestral cult in the family which was abandoned.

e. Powers Gained by the Dead.—1. *Spirits of the Dead Possess Superhuman Powers of Motion.*—They are capable of moving at will with great rapidity from place to place. In the *Avesta* [12] it is said that when the *fravashis* are summoned, "they come flying like a well-winged bird." Odysseus says to the ghost of Elpenor:—

> "How camest thou
> Elpenor, hither into these abodes
> Of night and darkness? Thou hast made more speed,
> Although on foot, than I in my good ship." [13]

[10] xi, 34ff.
[11] *De Legibus,* ii. 22.
[12] *Yasht,* xiii. 70.
[13] *Odyssey,* xi. 57ff.

The assumption among all the Indo-Europeans that spirits of the dead can come when called to receive the offerings that are made by the living presupposes extraordinary powers of locomotion.

2. *Spirits Show Themselves in Winds.*—Since they were themselves "breath" and "wind," it was natural that they should reveal themselves in atmospheric phenomena. In India and in Persia "good" and "bad" winds were distinguished. "Good" winds were the souls of the friendly dead, while "bad" winds were the restless ghosts of those for whom the proper funeral rites had not been performed. Similarly in Greece the winds were sometimes favourable spirits to whom white sheep were sacrificed, and sometimes hostile spirits to whom black sheep were offered. The Harpies were destructive wind-spirits who wrecked ships and snatched away men's souls to Hades. They were represented in art as human-headed birds, precisely like the representations of souls. Deadly winds were habitually called by euphemistic names such as Euraquilo or Euroclydon. Penelope prays:

> "I would that thou wouldst send into my heart
> A shaft to take my life, or that a storm
> Would seize and hurl me through the paths of air,
> And cast me into Ocean's restless stream,
> As once a storm, descending, swept away
> The daughters born to Pandarus." [14]

A Harpy was the mother by Zephyros of the horses of Achilles. Stormy winds were regarded as troops of restless ghosts coursing through the air with Hekate, a goddess of the Underworld.[15] Similar conceptions in Teutonic mythology are Woden, "the Wind," the wild huntsman who rushes through the sky with the host of spirits of the dead; the Valkyries, who correspond to the Greek Harpies, the snatchers of souls; and the "Wind-

[14] *Odyssey*, xx. 61ff.
[15] *Iliad*, xvi. 150; see Rohde, *Psyche*,[4] i, 72; ii, 83f., 264.

bride" of Germanic folk-lore who steals away the souls of men.

3. *Spirits Occupy Inanimate Objects.*—Among the low caste tribes of India small images are prepared to receive spirits of the dead. The Roman noble kept in his atrium the *imagines,* or portraits of his forefathers, which were originally portrait-masks that covered the faces of the dead. These were probably fitted on to statues or busts, and at funerals were worn by actors who impersonated the dead. These masks were perhaps a development out of primitive statues that were inhabited by the spirits. Among the Celts standing stones were the dwelling-places not only of gods but also of the *manes,*[16] and among all the Indo-Europeans the tombstone was felt to stand in a peculiarly intimate relation to the soul of the dead so that offerings were placed upon it.

Lots were controlled by ghosts as well as by gods, so that they were consulted for information in regard to the present and the future. Traces of this custom are found among all the Aryan peoples, but in Italy the institution attained its greatest development. The *sortes,* or 'lots' (from *serere,* 'string'), were small plates bearing inscriptions that were strung together on a cord. One of these tablets was drawn, and the inscription upon it was interpreted as an answer to the inquiry. Such lots were found at various sanctuaries, but the most famous were those at Prænestе, which are described in detail by Cicero.[17] The lots, which were discovered in dim antiquity, were inscribed on oak tablets, and were kept in a chest of olive wood. They were drawn by a boy. Cicero carefully distinguishes between lots of this sort "which are endued with a divine instinct and afflatus," and ordinary lots which are used in playing games. The Roman state-religion made no official use of the lots, which probably

[16] Henderson, *Survivals in Belief among the Celts,* pp. 198ff.
[17] *De Divinatione,* ii, 41ff.

indicates that they were not associated with the great gods of the state, but with lesser spirits of the dead.

4. *Spirits Occupy Plants or Animals.*—Among the Greeks and the Romans it was customary to plant trees upon graves, and it was thought that the souls of the dead inhabited these trees. Mountain nymphs planted elms upon the mound of Eëtion.[18] When Æneas uprooted a myrtle on the grave of Polydorus, the tree bled and he heard a voice from the mound saying: "Why, O Æneas, do you hurt wretched me? Spare now the buried. Refrain thy reverent hands from guilt." [19] Vergil tells us that in the open space at the entrance to Orcus a mighty elm tree stands. It spreads its aged branches with their deep shadows over a vast space. Men say that deceitful dreams take up their abode here, and cling to all the leaves.[20] Here souls of the dead are conceived both as dreams and as birds, and they inhabit the elm. This is evidently a fragment of old Italic folk-lore.

The re-incarnation of spirits in the bodies of animals or of men we shall consider later in connection with the doctrine of metempsychosis.[21]

5. *Spirits Obsess Living Men.*—In India even the *Rig Veda* contains a strong infusion of demonology, and the *Atharva Veda* is full of it. In viii. 6 it gives a lengthy enumeration of ghosts and goblins of every sort, among whom are restless spirits of the dead. There are also a number of exorcisms of evil spirits that have entered into men, for instance, in ix. 8 the *bhūts,* or 'spooks,' lurk everywhere, ready to jump into men on the slightest opportunity; and when they have entered they afflict their victims with all sorts of diseases. In the *Mahabhārata,* iii. 96, we are told of a particular demon called *dāiteya* that had the habit of cooking its younger brother and serving him up as meat to saints. After the saint had

[18] *Iliad,* vi. 419f.
[19] *Æneid,* iii. 19-68.
[20] *Ibid.,* vi. 282ff.
[21] See p. 98.

partaken of the tempting dish, the demon called his brother who came out bursting the saint asunder.

In the Persian religion of the *Avesta* all diseases are evil spirits of one sort or another that have entered into men. They stand in the service of Ahriman, and are opposed by Ahura Mazda and the good spirits who seek to deliver men from their wiles.

In Greece the host of Hekate as it courses through the air brings to men uncleanness, mischief, distressing dreams, nightmares, frightful visions, epilepsy, and insanity. The *kēres,* or 'ghosts,' are often described as bringing diseases to men. Hesiod tells of a golden age when

> "Of old the tribes of mortal men on earth
> Lived without ills, aloof from grievous toil,
> And catching plagues which *kēres* give to men.
> . . . . . .
> The woman with her hands took the great lid
> From off the cask and scattered them, and thus
> Devised sad cares for mortals.
> . . . . . .
> For other myriad evils wandered forth
> To man, the earth was full, and full the sea.
> Diseases, that all round by day and night
> Bring ills to mortals, hovered, self-impelled,
> Silent, for Zeus, the Counsellor, their voice
> Had taken away." [22]

Pandora is the earth-goddess, and the cask which she opens is the *pithos,* or jar, in which the ancient Greeks were buried, from which spirits of the dead emerge. In a vase-painting Hermes, leader of souls, is represented as opening such a *pithos,* from which the *kēres* emerge as little winged figures. Plato says,[23] "There are many fair things in the life of mortals, but in most of them there are as it were adherent *kēres* which pollute and disfigure them." As prophylactic measures against the

[22] Hesiod, *Works and Days,* 90ff.
[23] *Laws,* xi. 937.

kēres, pitch was spread on doors to catch them as they tried to flutter in, and buckthorn was chewed so as to expel them by its cathartic qualities. The gods were invoked for protection against their ravages. Thus in an Orphic hymn to Herakles we read:—

> "Come, blessed hero, come and bring allayments
> Of all diseases. Brandishing thy club,
> Drive forth the baleful fates; with poisoned shafts
> Banish the noisome *kēres* far away." [24]

In general the dead are regarded as hostile to the living, jealous of their health and well-being, and anxious to bring others into the same condition as themselves. In the Vedic period in India the dead are more feared than loved, and are believed to be constantly seeking new recruits for the kingdom of Yama. In Homer the costly ceremonies of cremation are designed to secure that spirits of the dead may descend to Hades where they will no more trouble the living. The ghost of Patroclus says to Achilles: "Nevermore shall I return to earth when once the fire shall have consumed me." [25]

The Romans believed that spirits of the dead wandered by night seeking to smite the living with fatal diseases. The grave-inscriptions frequently speak of the *manes* as having come to fetch the living. Thus an inscription from Corduba says: "The *manes* have taken Abullia." [26] At the festival of the Compitalia dolls in human form were hung up for the *lares,* "that they might spare the living and be satisfied with trifles and images." [27] The chief motive for sacrifice to the dead was the fear that they would avenge themselves if they were neglected. Ovid tells how "once upon a time the great feast of the dead was not observed, and the *manes* failed to receive the customary gifts, the fruit, the salt,

[24] See J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena,* pp. 165-175.
[25] *Iliad,* xxiii. 75.
[26] *Corpus Inscriptionum Lat.* ii. 2255.
[27] *Festus, s. v. pilæ,* ed. Dacerius, p. 346.

the grain steeped in unmixed wine, the violets. The injured spirits avenged themselves on the living, and the city was surrounded with the funeral fires of their victims." [28] So fearful were men that they had not performed the rites of the dead properly that every year before the reaping of harvest a sow (*porca præcidanea*) was sacrificed to the subterranean deities "by him who had not given the dead his due," lest they should cause the failure of crops. The *manes* punished with special rigour any crimes that impaired the vigour of the family because these interfered with the regular performance of the ancestral rites. A law ascribed to Romulus enacted that a man who sold his wife should be *dis manibus sacer,* "devoted to the divine shades." The reason for this was that he would have no children to keep up the ancestral rites. A child who struck his parent, or the violator of a grave, was also given over to the dead.[29] The *manes* punished with death all breaches of the *mos maiorum,* "the tradition of the elders." When the Potitii, who had charge of an ancestral cult at the Great Altar, shifted their responsibility to the public slaves, "the whole family of the Potitii was blotted out within a short time, and the vengeance of heaven was visited upon the censor Appius, upon whose advice they had acted, for a few years after he lost his sight." [30]

In similar manner the modern peasants of White Russia are filled with dread "lest at the commemoration festival any mistake should be made. Then, to speak in the language of the peasants, the feast would be no feast. It would mean that they did not respect the memory of the person in whose honour the feast was instituted. As a punishment for disrespect for the dead there would follow at once family discord, death

[28] *Fasti,* ii. 549-554.
[29] Plutarch, *Romulus,* 22; *Festus, s. v. parici, CIL.* x. 4355.
[30] Livy, ix. 29.

of cattle, failure of crops; in short, mountains and hills would fall upon the living."

6. *Spirits Possess Living Men.*—In India the feeding of Brahmans at funeral feasts and other rites of ancestor-worship is regarded as identical with feeding the *pitaras.* Throughout Northern India large numbers of Brahmans live exclusively from the funeral offerings. In White Russia beggars take the place of the Brahmans. They repeat their songs and prayers, and are bountifully fed in return. At Roman funerals impersonators were chosen to represent the ancestors. They wore their death-masks that were preserved in the family atrium, were dressed in their garments, wore their insignia of office, and sat in state in their ivory chairs of office. They received the new-comer into their company, and partook of the funeral meats that were laid before them. When the ceremony was over, the masks were returned to their boxes in the atrium and continued to share in the life of the family.[31] They bore a strong resemblance to the impersonators of the dead in China, and can be explained only on the supposition that they were possessed by ancestral spirits.[32]

Dreams were widely regarded as due to possession by the dead. In various parts of Greece there were chasms which were believed to communicate with the Underworld, through which the shades could arise. Here there were sanctuaries at which dream-oracles were given. The inquirer offered a sacrifice and slept within the sacred enclosure, the dead then appeared to him. A famous sanctuary of this sort was at Thesprotia. Here Herodotus records that Periander, tyrant of Corinth, "consulted the oracle of the dead upon the Acheron concerning a pledge which had been given him by a stranger; and Melissa appeared, but refused to speak or to tell where the pledge was—she was chill, she said, having no

[31] Polybius, vi. 53.
[32] See p. 28.

clothes; the garments buried with her were of no manner of use, since they had not been burnt." Periander then stripped the women of Corinth of their finest apparel and burnt the clothes in a pit. "This done, he sent a second time to the oracle, and Melissa's ghost told him where he would find the stranger's pledge." [33] There was a similar oracle at Phigalia in Arcadia.[34]

The soul of Patroclus appears to Achilles in a dream.[35] Penelope says:—

> "Of dreams, O stranger, some are meaningless
> And idle, and can never be fulfilled.
> Two portals are there for their shadowy shapes,
> Of ivory one, and one of horn. The dreams
> That come through the carved ivory deceive
> With promises that never are made good;
> But those that pass the doors of polished horn,
> And are beheld of men, are ever true." [36]

This is imitated by Vergil [37] at the end of his description of Hades: "There are twin gates of Sleep, whereof the one is said to be of horn. By this an easy exit is afforded to the true shades. Another gleams with the polish of dazzling ivory. By it the *manes* send false dreams to heaven." The meaning is that dreams which come through the gate of ivory (the teeth), that is, which one hears, are less reliable than those which come through the gate of horn (the cornea of the eye), that is, which one sees. Both passages connect dreams with spirits of the dead. In this connection mention should be made of the passage in Vergil cited above in which dreams are compared to birds that roost in the elm tree at the gate of Hades.[38]

Tertullian records that among the Celts those who

[33] Herodotus, v. 92; Pausanias, ix. 30, 3.
[34] Pausanias, iii. 17, 8f.
[35] *Iliad,* xxiii, 65ff.
[36] *Odyssey,* xix, 559ff.
[37] *Æneid,* vi. 893ff.
[38] See p. 76.

sought hidden knowledge slept on graves, hoping to be inspired by the spirits of the dead.[39]

A higher form of spirit-possession is that in which a man's mind is controlled by the indwelling spirit so that he becomes a medium through whom the thought and the will of the spirit are communicated. This is akin to the inspiration of prophets by the gods. The phenomena of telepathy and telesthesia, of mind-reading and foreboding, of hypnotism and divided personality, were explained by all the Indo-Europeans as due partly to possession by gods and partly to possession by spirits of the dead.

The following instances of mediumship in India are given by W. Crooke:[40] "A man enters with his legs girt with bells, the music of which is supposed to scare away the malevolent spirits which are present at the time of a death. He advances with short steps, rolling his eyes and staggering to and fro, sawing the air with two short sticks which he holds in his hands, and thus works himself into a frenzied state of inspiration, while the mourners wail and ask why the dead has been taken from them. Presently a convulsive shiver attacks the medium, who staggers more violently, and at last falls to the ground. He tries to support himself by holding one of the poles of the funeral shed, when he gasps out disjointed sentences which are taken to be the voice of the god." "A girl becomes possessed by the spirit, and talks and acts, it is said, just like the person who has lately died, calling the children, relatives, and friends by name, and giving commands for the future conduct of the surviving members of the family. After this the spirit is severed from earthly trammels and attains heavenly bliss."

In Greece we have a case of spirit-possession in the second-sight of Theoklymenos:—

[39] *De Anima*, 57.
[40] Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, x. 130.

"Then spake the godlike Theoklymenos:—
'Unhappy men! what may this evil be
That overtakes you? Every brow and face
And each one's lower limbs are wrapped in night,
And moans arise, and tears are on your cheeks.
The walls and all the graceful cornices
Between the pillars are bedropped with blood,
The portico is full, these halls are full
Of shadows, hastening down to Erebus
Amid the gloom. The sun is blotted out
From heaven, and fearful darkness covers all.'" [41]

The Pythia at Delphi received her inspiration in historic times from Apollo; but Apollo had dispossessed an earlier serpent-god, and the Pythia became ecstatic by inhaling a vapour that rose through a fissure in the earth. Evidently she was originally possessed by a chthonic deity. Lucan [42] tells how the god penetrated her body and forced her to yield to his guidance, how she shook the sacred garlands from her head and overturned the vessels of the temple in her efforts to escape the divine afflatus, how finally she succumbed and uttered words that were not her own but those of the god who controlled her.

The Sibyls of Italy seem to have been similar mediums through whom the dead communicated with the living. In the Æneid Vergil represents the Cumæan Sibyl as conducting Æneas into the Underworld. She lives in a cave, and near by is Lake Avernus, the entrance to Hades. Vergil describes her ecstasy: "Even as she spoke neither her features nor her complexion remained the same, nor was her hair confined within its braid; her bosom heaved, and her wild heart was swollen with frenzy; her stature was larger to the sight, her voice no longer human: so soon was she inspired by the breath of the god as it came ever nearer. . . . At length, no longer submitting herself to Phœbus, the prophetess rages

[41] *Odyssey*, xx. 351ff.
[42] V. 161ff.

furiously in her cavern, if so be that she may succeed in flinging off the mighty god from her bosom. All the more he plies her frenzied mouth, subduing her wild heart, and fashions her to his will by constraint." Here, in imitation of the Pythia, the Sibyl receives her inspiration from Apollo, but it is evident that originally she was conceived as a spirit-medium.[43]

This Cumæan Sibyl was the reputed author of the famous Sibylline Books in which her ecstatic predictive utterances were collected. According to the legend, she offered nine books for sale to King Tarquinius Priscus. When the King refused her price, she burnt three of the books, and still asked the same price for the remainder. When he refused once more, she burnt three more books, and continued to demand the same price. The King now became alarmed, and bought the remaining three at the full price. These books were kept in the temple on the Capitoline Hill, and were consulted in all times of national crisis.

Among the Celts mediums possessing the power of second-sight have existed from the earliest times down to the present. "A great obnubillation was conjured up for the bard so that he slept a heavy sleep, and things magic-begotten were shown him to enunciate, apparently in his sleep. This was called "illumination by rhymes," and a similar method was used in Wales. When consulted, the seer roared violently until he was beside himself, and out of his ravings the desired information was gathered. When aroused from this ecstatic condition, he had no remembrance of what he had uttered. Giraldus reports this, and thinks, with the modern spiritualist, that the utterance was caused by spirits. The resemblance to modern trance-utterance and to similar methods used by savages is remarkable, and psychological science

[43] *Æneid*, vi. 45ff.

sees in it the promptings of the subliminal self in sleep." [44]

Among the Teutons we find trolls, witches and wise women, all of whom were mediums controlled by spirits. They worked themselves up into the hypnotic trance by incantations, and then either fared forth on the wings of the storm to visit distant places, or were inspired to reveal hidden things and to predict the future. The Norse Völves were professional mediums who enjoyed high esteem. They had magic chairs, magic wands, and a company of boys and girls who chanted the songs that induced the prophetic trance. In the winter season when the spirits were abroad they journeyed from farm to farm in pursuit of their art, and were everywhere hospitably received.

7. *Spirits Appear to Men in Bodily Form.*—Apparitions of the dead to the living are well known in all parts of the Indo-European world. This happens frequently, though not necessarily, in the presence of a medium who has the power of "materialising" spirits. Such ghosts belong as a rule to three main classes: first, those who have died untimely deaths, namely miscarriages, children that have died in infancy, youths and maidens who have died unmarried, married persons who have died without children, and women who have died in childbirth; second, those who have died violent deaths, namely the murdered, suicides, and those who have fallen in battle; third, those who have not received funeral rites, or have not received the proper rites. All these troubled spirits fail to enter the Underworld in peace, are envious of the living, and are likely to appear and make demands upon them.[45]

In India these three classes are known as *prēta,* from the root *pre,* 'depart,'; *bhūta,* 'demon'; and *piśācha,* 'flesh-

[44] Macculoch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts,* p. 249.
[45] On the unburied see above, pp. 8, 36.

eater.' They appear in the forms that they wore on earth, or with small, thick, red bodies and horrible faces with lions' teeth. They come to blows with men, and carry them off to remote places. They assault women, and women are reported to have become with child by them. They operate chiefly at night, but noon is also a dangerous time, when women especially should not go about unprotected. They speak a "goblin speech," which is a sort of gibberish uttered in a high nasal tone.[46]

In Persia such unhappy spirits are classed under the general name *daēva,* which includes evil spirits of all sorts that are in the service of Ahriman. Etymologically the word is identical with Sanskrit *dēva,* 'god,' and Latin *dīvus,* 'divine'; but in the Zoroastrian religion it is applied only to evil spirits, just as in Judaism and Christianity the gods of the ancient world have been degraded to the position of devils. Among the *daēvas* must be included spirits of the dead, since they love foulness and decay and are specially numerous in the vicinity of the *dakhmas,* or towers of silence, where corpses are exposed. They appear in human form, they come at night, and they vanish at the rising of the sun.[47]

In Greece the three main classes of appearing ghosts were known as *áōroi,* 'the untimely,' that is, those who had met untimely deaths; *biothánatoi,* those who had met violent deaths; and *átaphoi,* 'the unburied.' In the eleventh book of the *Odyssey* all the ghosts who appear to Odysseus have met untimely or unhappy ends.

> "Souls of the dead from Erebus—young wives
> And maids unwedded, men worn out with years
> And toil, and virgins of a tender age
> In their new grief, and many a warrior slain
> In battle, mangled by the spear, and clad
> In bloody armour, who about the trench
> Flitted on every side, now here, now there,
> With gibbering cries, and I grew pale with fear."

[46] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India,* vi. p. 230.
[47] *Yasna,* ix. 15; *Yasht,* vi. 3f.

These ghosts appeared in the same forms in which Odysseus had known them on earth, and spoke with audible voices, but they were inaccessible to the sense of touch.

The Erinyes were originally the souls of the murdered who demanded vengeance. Althæa summons the Erinyes out of Hades to avenge the death of her brothers.[48] In Æschylus[49] we read: "Œdipus' holy shade, black Erinys, verily mighty art thou." Io, maddened by the apparition of earth-born Argus, cries:

> "O horror! he is coming, coming nigh,
> Dead, with his wandering eye.
> Uprising from the dead,
> He drives me famished
> Along the shingled main."[50]

In the *Eumenides*, 46ff., the priestess describes these spectres of the slain that she has seen in the temple:—

> "Fronting the man I saw a wondrous band
> Of women, sleeping on the seats. But no!
> No women these, but Gorgons—yet methinks
> I may not liken them to Gorgon-shapes.
> Once on a time I saw those pictured things
> That snatch at Phineus' feast, but these, but these
> Are wingless—black, foul utterly. They snore,
> Breathing out noisome breath. From out their eyes
> They ooze a loathy rheum."[51]

A more horrible conception of the ghosts of the murdered, worse than Gorgons, and worse than Harpies, which are themselves spirits of the dead, could hardly be imagined.

There are many allusions in Greek literature to appearances of ghosts, particularly in connection with

[48] *Iliad*, ix. 571ff.
[49] *Seven against Thebes*, 988.
[50] *Prometheus Bound*, 566ff.
[51] See J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 213-232.

necromancy, or the calling up of the dead.[52] Lucian in his *Philopseudes,* or 'Liar,' gives a rich collection of stories of this sort. It is satire, of course, still it reflects popular beliefs on the subject. Pliny [53] tells perhaps the best Greek ghost-story that has come down to us. In Athens there was a haunted house, where rattling of chains was heard, and where the ghost of an old man appeared with chains on his wrists which he kept shaking. People who tried to live in the house died from fright, and nobody was willing to hire the place. Finally the philosopher Athenodorus, attracted by the cheapness of the rent, and by a love of psychical research, took the place and settled down in his study to await developments. He heard the rattling of the chains, and finally the ghost appeared to him and beckoned him to follow. The philosopher, with extraordinary presence of mind under the circumstances, followed the phantom into the yard where it suddenly vanished. He made a heap of leaves at the spot where it had disappeared, and the next day reported the matter to the magistrates and had the place dug up. A skeleton was discovered bound in chains; and when this had been freed and properly buried, the ghost no more appeared in the house.

Roman ideas about ghosts were similar to those of the Greeks. Souls of the unhappy dead were apt to appear to the living. After the murder of the mad Emperor Gaius his corpse was only half-burned and half-buried. The Lamian villa where the tragedy had occurred was haunted by his ghost, and every night there were dreadful sights and sounds until the house was burned.[54] Nero, after the assassination of his mother Agrippina, could not sleep because of her phantom that appeared to him. From the surrounding hills the sound of a trumpet was heard and wailings from Agrippina's

[52] See p. 151.
[53] *Epistles,* vii. 27.
[54] Suetonius, *Gaius,* 59.

grave.[55] On the night when Galba was assassinated, Otho started up from his bed with groans, and was found lying in a swoon on the ground.[56] Ovid [57] threatens to haunt his enemy after death: "However death may come to me, I will strive to break from the borders of the river of Hades, and in vengeance I will lay my cold hands on your brow. Waking, you shall look upon me; in the still shadow of night I will seem to come and shatter your slumbers. Whatever you do, I will fly before you in your sight. I will raise my lament. You shall not find rest anywhere. Knotted lashes shall sound in your ears. Torches entwined with snakes shall always smoke before your guilty countenance. You shall be driven on by the furies in life and in death, for life is too short for your chastisement."

Roman ghosts appeared mostly at night. Propertius represents them as saying: "At night we wander far and wide, for night frees the shades from their prison. Our laws compel us to return to the Lake of Forgetfulness by daybreak." They also appeared occasionally at noon-time when the intense summer heat drove men off of the streets to take their siestas in their homes. Thus the phantom of a woman appeared at noon in an African town to Curtius Rufus informing him that he should return to the province as pro-consul.[58] It was dangerous to see ghosts, as this often foreboded death, but fortunately the spirits avoided being seen by men quite as much as men avoided looking upon them.

Among the Celts the realistic conception of a bodily existence in the other world made it easy to believe that the dead could manifest themselves to the living. Such apparitions could hardly be called ghosts since they were clothed in flesh and blood and looked the same as when

[55] Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 10.
[56] Suetonius, *Otho*, 7.
[57] *Ibis*, 151ff.
[58] Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 21.

they were alive on earth.[59] Celtic literature is full of accounts of manifestations in which the living are unconscious that they are talking with the dead. The Classical writers mention a class of Celtic spirits of the dead called *dusii* (cf. Gr. *θεός*) who were so corporeal that they entered into marital relations with men and women as *incubi* and *succubi*.[60]

Teutonic conceptions of ghosts are so familiar to us from our English folk-lore that they require no special elaboration in this connection.

8. *Spirits of the Dead Possess Superhuman Knowledge.*—They are far wiser than mortals. They know what is taking place on earth among their relatives. They know when offerings are prepared for them and when they are invoked to be present. They know the prayers that are addressed to them by their descendants. They also know the future. In Homer all the ghosts who appear to the living deliver prophetic oracles. The entire eleventh book of the *Odyssey* is devoted to the predictions which the shades make to Odysseus. In all parts of the Indo-European world the dead exercise the same oracular functions.

9. *Spirits of the Dead Are Able to Bless the Living.*—Although the dead are dangerous when angry, yet when properly appeased, they reward their filial descendants. The *Vedas* frequently speak of the "fathers" as blessing their posterity. In connection with the offering of food to ancestors in India the sacrificer prays: "Honour, *pitaras,* for your comfort, honour for your living sap, honour for your living power, honour for your gentleness, honour for your life, honour for your vigour, *Svâhâ* to you, honour to you, *pitaras,* honour! This water is yours, *pitaras,* this is our and your life-bringing element; may we who are here be quickened." The husband then gives the sacrificial cake to his wife to

[59] See pp. 4f., 32f.
[60] Augustine, *de Civ. Dei,* xv. 23; Isidore *Lib. Etymol.* viii., 11, 103.

eat, saying, "Give me a male child, *pitaras,*" and the wife replies, "Insert fruit in me, *pitaras,* a lotus-wreathed boy, that he may be uninjured."

In Persia the *fravashis* took such a keen interest in the welfare of their descendants that in time of drought they hurried to the heavenly lake Vourukasha and fought with one another for water, "each for his own family, his own village, his own tribe, his own country." [61]

In Greece the bride before leaving her home sacrificed to her ancestors in order to secure fertility and a blessing upon her home.[62]

f. Powers Lost by the Dead.—Notwithstanding the resemblance of the other world to the present world, and notwithstanding the superhuman powers that were gained through death which raised one to the rank of a god, the future life was regarded by most of the Indo-Europeans as a dim, shadowy existence that was most undesirable. The loss of the body involved the loss of all the active powers and all the pleasures that made life worth living. The disembodied soul was only a feeble reflection of its former self. In all the Indo-European languages the soul is described as breath, wind, vapour, smoke, shadow. These names emphasize its unsubstantial character. Accordingly, with the loss of the body one lost all that made existence worth while. One did not enter upon immortality in any true sense of the word, but only upon a ghost-existence, which is a very different matter. In Homer the *psuche,* or 'breath,' is only an *eidolon,* or 'image,' of its former self. It is a 'smoke,' [63] or a 'shadow,' [64] and it passes like air through the hands of those who try to seize it. For this reason the dead are unhappy, and regard the humblest lot on earth as superior to the highest rank among the

[61] *Avesta, Yasha,* xiii, 64ff.
[62] See below, p. 137f.
[63] *Iliad,* xxiii. 100.
[64] *Odyssey,* x. 495; xi. 207; see p. 7.

shades.[65] Greek and Latin grave-inscriptions take the same pessimistic attitude toward the future life; and however much higher conceptions may have prevailed in mystic brotherhoods and philosophic circles, these did not affect the primitive beliefs of the multitude.

Among the Celts alone a more cheerful conception prevailed. Like the ancient Egyptians, they seem to have conceived of the dead as re-animating their bodies in the other life, and therefore as not leading a ghost-existence.[66] Lucan,[67] says of the Druids: "From you we learn that the bourne of man's existence is not the silent halls of Erebus; in another world the spirit animates the members. Death, if your lore be true, is but the centre of a long life." For this reason, he adds, the Celtic warriors had no fear of death. Valerius Maximus[68] records that they lent money on the promise to pay it back in the next world. This certainly implies a vivid conception of its reality and of its physical character. In Celtic folk-lore the dead do not appear as ghosts but as living men of flesh and blood.[69] In the Welsh tale of Pwyll mentioned later, Arawn, King of Hades, is able to take Pwyll's place for a year among the living. Marriages of the living with the dead are a frequent theme of Celtic legends. The Celtic other world was a place of eating, drinking, fighting, and making love, like the present world at its best, so that it is not surprising that suicide was frequent in order to enter more speedily into its joys. Diodorus Siculus[70] records that letters were thrown upon funeral pyres in the belief that thus they were carried to departed friends.

g. The Abode of the Dead.—Indo-European conceptions of the dwelling-place of departed spirits corres-

[65] See p. 8f.
[66] See p. 163.
[67] *Pharsalia,* i. 455ff.
[68] II. 6, 10.
[69] See p. 106.
[70] V. 28.

pond to the three methods of disposal of the dead that were practised by them, namely, exposure, burial and cremation.

1. *Spirits Roam Without Any Fixed Habitation.*— This corresponds to the primitive custom of exposure of corpses. When the flesh was devoured by beasts and birds and the bones were scattered, the body no longer served as a seat of the soul's activity. The discarnate spirit had no abode to which it could return, but "passed through waterless places, seeking rest and finding none." [71] Like the living, the primitive Aryan ghosts were nomads. This conception lasted among all the Indo-Europeans in the belief that the unburied or uncremated dead could not rest but haunted the living. In India and in Persia spirits for whom the last rites had not been performed roamed about and formed a dangerous class of evil demons. In the Iliad,[72] the ghost of the unburied Patroclus says to Achilles:

> "Thou dost neglect me dead. O, bury me
> Quickly, and give me entrance through the gates
> Of Hades; for the souls, the forms of those
> Who live no more, repulse me, suffering not
> That I should join their company beyond
> The river, and I now must wander round
> The spacious portals of the House of Death.
> Give me thy hand, I pray; for never more
> Shall I return to earth when once the fire
> Shall have consumed me."

Smiliar conceptions meet us in Euripides,[73] Sophocles,[74] and Æschylus.[75] In Homer burial is refused to fallen enemies, but in later times it was considered a sacred duty to perform the last rites even for foes. The laws of Solon enacted that, if a father had hired his

[71] Matt. 12:43; Luke 11:24.
[72] *Iliad,* xxiii. 71ff., Bryant's translation.
[73] *Hecuba,* 31-50; *Troades,* 1081.
[74] *Antigone,* 1070.
[75] *Eumenides,* 269ff.

son out for vicious purposes, the son was absolved from the obligation to feed and shelter him, yet was required to perform the funeral rites for him. If a man had no relatives, or if they failed to perform their duty, the head of his *deme* attended to the interment. Only exceptional sinners, such as traitors, temple-robbers, and suicides, were refused burial.

Similar ideas existed at Rome. The shades of those who had been drowned, or carried off by beasts, or who had not received proper burial or cremation, wandered about without fixed abode and were a menace to the living. Tertullian[76] says: "It was believed that the unburied did not descend to the world below before they had received their due." Consequently, it was an imperative duty of relatives to care for their dead; and if they failed, the state assumed the responsibility. As Quintilian remarks:[77] "Even upon unknown dead we heap earth, and no one is ever in too great a hurry to honour an unburied body by putting earth, be it ever so little, upon it." Burial was refused only to exceptional criminals, to suicides, and to those who had been struck by lightning.

Among the pagan Slavs it was believed that souls of the unburied wandered in forests, but that souls of the buried travelled by the beaten road to the realm of the dead.

2. *Spirits Occupy the Bodies of Animals.*—Closely connected with exposure of the dead is the idea that their spirits enter into the bodies of various animals. When the dead were devoured by beasts and by birds, it was natural to think that their souls might inhabit these creatures; thus, alongside of the idea that ghosts of the unburied roam the earth, we find at an early date the conception of re-incarnation in lower forms of life. The most widely spread conception among the Indo-Euro-

[76] *De Anima*, 56.
[77] *Declamationes*, v. 6.

peans was that souls entered into birds. This seems to be connected with the devouring of corpses by vultures. In early Greek art the soul is depicted as a human-headed bird, like the *ba* in Egyptian art.[78] This is evidently a conventionalised form that has grown out of an earlier representation of a simple bird. The human-headed birds lingered in art as Harpies, Sirens and Erinyes, whose functions show that they were developed out of spirits of the dead; but the anthropomorphic tendency of later Greek art caused spirits in general to be represented as winged human figures.[79]

In Italy the belief appears in bird-omens and augury. In Plautus [80] a slave rejoices when he sees a woodpecker and a crow on his left, and a raven and a screech owl on his right. When the woodpecker begins to drill, he takes this as a sign of a beating that is in store for him. When the raven is seen on the left, and when it taps the earth once with its claws, it makes the heart of the spectator leap within his breast. Bird-divination was a function of the state, and the art was in the hands of augurs who belonged to the patrician order. Birds were divided into the classes of the 'singers,' *oscines,* which included the owl, the crow, and the raven; and the 'flyers,' *præpetes,* which included the larger birds of prey. Auspices were drawn from the number and the positions in which these birds appeared and from their cries. As a rule it was favourable to have a bird appear on the left of the observer. Birds of prey were considered most important, as was natural, considering their primitive connection with the dead.[81]

In Celtic folk-lore spirits of the dead are frequently represented as birds. Thus in the *Voyage of Maelduin,* an Irish monkish tale, the terrestrial paradise is described

[78] See p. 155.

[79] The most elaborate discussion of this subject is that of G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst,* 1907.

[80] *Asinaria,* ii. sc. 1.

[81] For similar Greek ideas see *Iliad,* xii. 200ff.; x. 274ff.

as a place where the first forefather lives, surrounded by the souls of his descendants who have the form of song-birds. In the legend of Saint Maelsuthain his pupils appeared to him after death as birds. In Cornwall King Arthur is thought to live in the form of a raven, and in Wales the souls of the wicked become ravens. In Brittany souls of unbaptised infants flit about as birds, and in all Celtic countries the souls of drowned sailors or fishermen become sea-gulls. By an association of ideas butterflies, moths, and bats are also regarded as spirits of the dead.[82]

Next to birds snakes are most frequently associated with spirits of the dead in Indo-European religions. The serpent-cult of modern India is distinctly connected with ancestor-worship. On Greek tombs snakes are constantly represented as the embodiment of the spirit of the dead. In the so-called "hero reliefs" a large bearded serpent appears behind the seated hero. In "banquet reliefs" a serpent appears twisted about a tree, or drinks from a cup in the hero's hand. In vase pictures serpents are often depicted at the foot of burial mounds. The meaning of these representations is clear from a passage in Plutarch [83] who states that when Cleomenes, King of Sparta, had been executed by Ptolemy, King of Egypt, and impaled in public, "a huge snake wound about the head and hid the face so that no bird of prey should light on it. Thereupon a superstitious fear fell upon the King, and such a dread that it started the women on purification ceremonies." Cecrops, the oldest Athenian hero, was worshipped originally as a snake, subsequently as a half-human, half-serpentine being. Erechtheus, his son, was also a snake. Herodotus, viii. 41, describing the Persian invasion, says: "The Athenians say that they have in their acropolis a huge serpent, which lives in the temple, and is the guardian of the whole place.

[82] See Macculloch, *o. c.*, pp. 360; Henderson, *o. c.*, pp. 76ff.
[83] *Life of Cleomenes*, xxxix.

Nor do they only say this, but, as if the serpent really dwelt there, every month they lay out its food, which consists of a honey-cake. Up to this time the honey-cake had always been consumed; but now it remained untouched. So the priestess told the people what had happened; whereupon they left Athens the more readily, since they believed that the goddess had already abandoned the citadel." In like manner the hero Trophonius dwelt as a snake in a cave at Lebadea, and Asklepeios also was originally a snake, and later was represented with a snake twining about his staff.[84]

In Italy serpents were regarded as the embodiments of the spirits of ancestors and as the guardian-heroes of places. Pliny[85] says that snakes were protected and fed in Roman houses. They became so numerous that they would have become an unbearable nuisance, but for the fires which frequently consumed parts of the city. On tomb-reliefs snakes are represented, as in Greece, as embodiments of the dead. A fresco in Herculaneum represents a snake twisted around an altar and eating cakes from the top. The accompanying inscription reads, *genius huius loci montis.* In the *Æneid,* v. 84ff., Vergil tells how Æneas, having arrived in Sicily, prepared to celebrate the anniversary of his father's death with sacrifices and games. A magnificent serpent appeared which tasted of the sacrificial viands and silently disappeared beneath a mound. Æneas is "uncertain whether to think it the genius of the place or the familiar spirit of his father." [86]

The cult of ancestors under the form of serpents among the pagan Lithuanians is well attested. Menecius, the authority on these matters, says: "Moreover the Lithuanians and the Samagitæ keep snakes in their

[84] See Rohde, *Psyche,*[4] pp. 120, 133, 136, 142, 196, 242, 244; J. E. Harrison, *Themis,* chap. viii; Lippert, *Die Religionen der europäischen Kulturvölker,* p. 42ff.

[85] *Nat. Hist.,* xxix. 72.

[86] See W. Wissowa, *Religion und Cultus der Römer,* p. 155; F. Granger, *The Worship of the Romans,* pp. 56-59.

houses under the hearth, or in a corner of the oven where a table stands. Reverencing these as manifestations of spirits, they call them forth at a certain time of the year with prayers to the sacrificial table. They come forth through a hole, and climbing up by a cloth, they lie on the table; where, having tasted the dishes one by one, they descend and hide themselves in their caves. When the snakes have gone, the men eat with joy all the dishes that they have tasted, and hope that in that year all sorts of good things will happen to them. If, however, the snakes do not come forth at their prayers to partake of the sacrifices, or do not taste of the dishes that are placed on the table, they believe that they will meet with great misfortune in the ensuing year." Lascowski (Lasicius) also records: "They cherish also as household gods certain fat snakes of a black colour which they call *Giuoitos* (*i.e.,* Lith. *gyvãté,* 'serpents'). Æneas Sylvius, Pope Pius II (1458-64), says of the Lithuanians: "They used to reverence snakes: each head of a family had a snake in the corner of his house to which he offered food and sacrifice." [87]

Other animals, such as dogs, wolves, hares, *etc.,* appear as the embodiments of spirits in Indo-European folk-lore, but much less frequently and universally than birds and serpents.

Out of this belief in re-incarnation of souls in animal forms there arose in a few parts of the Indo-European world the doctrine of metempsychosis, or transmigration. This is not yet found in the *Vedas,* but in the *Ramayana* it is stated that the wicked are punished by being reborn in lower stages of existence. In later Brahmanism and in Buddhism the doctrine is fully developed that men are reborn in accordance with the law of *Karma,* or retribution for the deeds done in a previous existence. All the philosophic systems and Buddhism are efforts to free the soul from this dread necessity of rebirth through

[87] See F. Solmsen, in Usener, *Götternamen,* p. 91, *s.v. Gyvãté.*

absorption of the individual soul into the universal as "the dew-drop slides into the shining sea."

A similar movement of Greek thought begins with Orphism, a development of Thracian Dionysiac cults, which first appears in the sixth century B.C. It is known to us chiefly from eight inscribed gold tablets, six of which were found near Sybaris, one at Rome, and one in Crete, which were deposited in the tombs of members of Orphic brotherhoods;[88] also from the later descriptions of Empedocles and Plato. From these sources we learn that the fundamental doctrine of Orphism was the heavenly origin of the soul. Each individual soul once dwelt in the celestial regions and partook of the divine nature. Because of sin in this first existence it is condemned to mortal life on earth. The body is the "prison," or even the "grave" of the soul, according to Orphic authorities. For ten thousand years it is condemned to the "circle" or "wheel of generation." That is, it must be born and reborn in lower or higher forms of life according as it has done ill or well in its previous existence. One Orphic poet says: "Hitherto I have been a boy, a girl, a bush, a bird, and a scaly fish in the sea."[89] The aim of Orphism is redemption from the "circle of necessity," that is, the compulsion to be reborn. This is accomplished by "purity" both moral and ceremonial. Sin must be avoided, and at the same time one must abstain from animal food, and must practise a large number of cleansing rites. Adherence to this rule of life secures rebirth in continually higher forms, until at last the soul is ready to leave the "circle of generation" and return to the heavenly abode from which it fell. During the intervals between the various rebirths the soul is confined in Hades. Here the good are happy, while the wicked are punished with all sorts of tortures.

Orphism bears so many points of resemblance to

[88] See J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 573-600; 660-674.
[89] Abel, *Orphica*, 1885, fr. 117.

Buddhism in its doctrines of metempsychosis, asceticism, abstinence from animal food, purgatory, and redemption, that it seems highly probable that it drew its original inspiration from Indian sources; but it has received a characteristically Greek development, and its belief in individual immortality is very different from the Buddhistic Nirvana. The one is the product of Greek individualism and optimism; the other, of Indian pantheism and pessimism.

A similar phenomenon to Orphism is seen in the Eleusinian mysteries that were celebrated at Eleusis near Athens. Here, by means of purificatory rites, initiation, and the drinking of some sort of sacramental cup, the recipients were made partakers of the very nature of the goddess, so that they were privileged to see and hear sacred mysteries of the other world, and were assured deliverance from rebirth and a happy immortality. The antiquity of these rites is proved by the "Homeric" Hymn to Demeter, composed as early as 600 B.C., in which the whole Greek world is invited to come to Eleusis for initiation. The promise of immortality which these ceremonies gave attracted all the Greeks who could afford it, and subsequently many of the Romans, to accept the invitation of the poet.

Pythagoras (*ca.* 582-500 B.C.) held the Orphic doctrines of the divine origin of the soul, of its incarnation through sin, of transmigration, ultimate redemption from the necessity of rebirth, and reunion with the divine. He founded a brotherhood with a rigid "way of life" which spread into all parts of the Greek world and exerted a powerful influence upon Greek thought.

Heraclitus (*ca.* 535-475 B.C.) seems also to have come under Orphic influence, if we may judge from a fragment[90] which says, "The living and the dead, the waking and the sleeping, the young and the old are the same; for the latter when they have changed are the

[90] Bywater, *Heraclite Ephesii Reliquiæ*, LXXVIII.

former, and the former when they have changed are the latter."

Æschylus (525-456 B.C.) teaches in the main the Homeric doctrine of Hades, but with the important difference that for him there are rewards and punishments in Hades. In this respect apparently he shows Orphic influence.[91]

Pindar (522-443 B.C.) adopts all the main features of the Orphic theology. He teaches re-incarnation, retribution in Hades, and ultimate deliverance from the "wheel of rebirth."

Empedocles (*ca.* 490-430 B.C.) also accepted the Orphic beliefs. In one of his fragments he teaches that in the last rebirth before attaining its redemption the soul becomes a prophet, poet, physician, ruler, or some other benefactor of mankind. Then at death it becomes a god, and rises to the fellowship of the gods.

Sophocles (495-406 B.C.) and Euripedes (480-406 B.C.) take a sceptical attitude toward all theories of immortality; when they speak of death, they use ordinarily the old Homeric language; but Socrates (470-399 B.C.) and his disciple Plato (429-347 B.C.) carry the doctrine of the future life to the highest development attained in the Classical world. They teach that the soul is an eternal, uncreated substance. In consequence of a fall from the life of pure reason in an earlier state of existence, it has been confined in the body as a prison, where it is subjected to the temptations of the flesh. If it resists these, it passes at death to the fellowship of the gods. If it succumbs, it is born again upon earth. If after repeated rebirths it does not reform, it is cast into Tartarus.

Classical writers assert also that the doctrine of metempsychosis existed among the Celts. Cæsar[92] states: "The Druids in particular wish to impress this on them

[91] See Æschylus, *Eumenides,* 269ff.; cf. *Supplices,* 226ff.; 416-435.
[92] *De Bello Gallico,* vi. 14.

that souls do not perish, but pass from one to another (*ab aliis . . . ad alios*) after death, and by this chiefly they think to incite men to valour, the fear of death being overlooked." Diodorus Siculus[93] says: "Among them the doctrine of Pythagoras prevailed that the souls of men were immortal, and after completing their term of existence, they live again, the soul passing into another body." Valerius Maximus[94] adds: "They would fain make us believe that the souls of men are immortal. I would be tempted to call these breeches-wearing folk fools, if their doctrine were not the same as that of the mantle-clad Pythagoras." Similarly Lucan.[95] All these statements probably go back to one original, and it is doubtful whether the authority that they followed was correct. So far as native sources indicate, the Celts believed that spirits entered into the bodies of animals, but had no developed doctrine of the transmigration of souls such as Pythagoras taught. Some historian has been misled by a superficial resemblance of the far more primitive Celtic beliefs to the ideas of Greek philosophy.

3. *Spirits of the Dead Dwell in Graves.*—Out of the second main method of disposing of the dead among the Aryans, namely burial, arose the widespread idea that souls haunted the places where their bodies were buried. According to this conception, the ghosts were no longer nomadic, like the earliest Aryans, but had become sedentary, like the later Aryans.

Among the Greeks the members of a family were buried together outside the city walls in order that they might be near to one another and to their living relatives. In earliest times there are traces also of burial within houses. Innumerable graves of heroes were the seats of cults in all parts of Greece. At graves periodic

[93] V. 28.
[94] II. 6, 10.
[95] *Pharsalia*, i. 454-458.

offerings were made to the shades. Over the royal graves in the citadel at Mycenæ an altar was placed for the reception of sacrifices. The bones of heroes received the greatest reverence, and were frequently transported from one place to another in order to secure the presence of their owner. In 476 B.C. the Athenians brought the reputed bones of Theseus from Scyrus and deposited them in the Theseum at Athens. From that time onward the spirit of Theseus dwelt in the Theseum. Similarly in 437 B.C. the Athenians under Hagnon brought the bones of Rhesus from the Troad to Amphipolis.[96]

Among the Romans identical beliefs prevailed. In the *Ænead,*[97] Æneas at the grave of Polydorus says: "We lay the spirit in the grave"; and Horace [98] says to Torquatus: "We, when we have descended whither righteous Æneas, whither Tullus and Ancus have gone, are but dust and shadow." Gifts were placed upon the graves, and the bones of a victorious general were scattered in the city in order to secure the presence and aid of his spirit. The skull was regarded as particularly the seat of the spirit, hence apparently in earliest times it was preserved in the home as a means of communicating with an ancestor. This is the origin of the *os resectum,* or bone cut off before cremation. Originally the head was removed for preservation, later a finger, or some other part of the body was substituted. The wax masks of ancestors preserved in the atrium of Roman nobles were probably conventional substitutes for the primitive skull.[99]

Among the Celts also spirits of the dead were thought to live in the grave and to issue from it as ghosts. Hence offerings of food were placed on tombs, and national assemblies were held at them. The tomb of King Cottius in the Alps was holy, Irish kings were crowned at an-

[96] Rohde, *Psyche,*[4] p. 161.
[97] III. 67.
[98] *Odes,* IV. vii. 15.
[99] Granger, *Worship of the Romans,* pp. 53ff.

cestral tumuli, and Irish gods were frequently associated with burial barrows. Tertullian [100] narrates that the Celts went by night to the tombs of great men to obtain oracles, so much did they believe that they were still living there. In many parts of the Celtic world the openings that are left into cairns or barrows are intended to give the spirit means of egress and ingress. In Ireland it is still believed that the spirit of the one last buried has to watch in the graveyard until another is placed there.[101] In the churches of Brittany "at the east end are the heavy, brightly-painted images; in other parts of the church and in the porch, set up on shelves, each in a small black box pierced and surmounted by the cross, are the skulls of those who have worshipped there, taken out of their graves when their flesh has perished, and placed on high with their names—*Cy est le Chef de N.*—in the sight of their children when they come to pray. They are churches of the dead as well as of the living." [102]

Identical conceptions are found among the Slavs and the Teutons. In one Russian dialect the cemetery is called *roditelĭskoje mĕsto, i.e.,* "place of the ancestors," and in Norse the family burial-mound is known as *ætthaugar,* "hill of the tribe." In all Teutonic folk-lore ghosts are associated with graves. In this respect the belief of the Indo-Europeans was the same as that of all other primitive races.

4. *Spirits of the Dead Dwell in an Underworld.*—Out of the individual graves some of the Indo-Europeans developed the idea of a Nether World that was a sort of generalised concept of the grave. The same process is seen in the Egyptian *Dewat* and the Semitic *Sheôl* and is found also among African and American tribes.[103] The names for the realm of the dead differ in the various

[100] *De Anima,* 21.
[101] Lady Wilde, *Ancient Legends of Ireland,* pp. 82f.
[102] Granger, *o. c.,* p. 54.
[103] See pp. 169, 215, 240f.

Indo-European languages, so that it is probable that the conception was developed by them independently after their separation from the parent stem. In India and Persia the idea of Hades seems to have existed in early times, and in Greece the doctrine of Hades is already fully developed in Homer. The name ἅδης, in Homer ἀΐδης, is derived from α-ϝιδα "un-seen," *i.e.*, "the invisible world." It is also personified as the ruler of the Underworld. Homer speaks frequently of this dark abode beneath the earth to which all spirits of the dead descend, and from which they come forth to appear to the living in dreams and in visions. In the eleventh book of the *Odyssey* he gives an elaborate account of Ulysses' visit to this region and his interviews with its inhabitants. It is probable that this is not an original part of the Epic; nevertheless, it gives an admirable picture of early Greek thought on this subject. Ulysses sails westward to the extreme limit of the Ocean, the land of the Cimmerians who dwell in eternal cloud and darkness. Here he finds the entrance to Hades. The souls of the unburied meet him first because they are unable to join their relatives in the Underworld. Then he encounters the great multitude of the buried dead, great and small, good and bad, who throng the vast cavern. The punishments of Tityos, Tantalos, and Sisyphos are late Orphic additions. This remained the orthodox Greek conception of the other world down to Christian times.

The corresponding conception among the Romans was *Orcus*, which etymologically is connected with Gothic *aúrahi*, 'tomb.' The entrance to *Orcus* was through a *mundus, i.e.*, 'earth,' or 'pit.' In the center of every newly founded town such a pit was dug and was covered with a stone slab. Through this spirits of the dead descended into the nether world, and through it they ascended. Into it offerings to the dead were cast at stated seasons. Macrobius [104] says: "When the *mundus*

[104] *Saturnalia*, I. xvi. 16-18.

is open, the door of the sad gods of the Underworld is open." The oldest *mundus* at Rome was that on the Palatine hill. Other similar trenches that were established later were in the Forum, the Lacus Curtius, and the "grave of Tarpeia." All Latin accounts of *Orcus* are so strongly coloured with features derived from the Greek conception of *Hades* that it is impossible to determine the primitive Italic idea. Vergil's narrative of Æneas's descent to the Lower World in the sixth book of the *Æneid* is an imitation of Ulysses' descent in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey,* nevertheless, it doubtless contains many elements of old Latin folk-lore.

The Classical writers assume that Celtic conceptions of the Underworld are identical with their own. Lucan [105] calls it *orbis alius;* Valerius Maximus [106] speaks of the dead Celts as *inferi;* Pomponius Mela [107] speaks of them as going *ad manes;* and Plutarch [108] represents Camma as descending to her dead husband. There are numerous tales in Welsh and Irish folk-lore of living men who descended to this region and returned, just as Odysseus descended to Hades. According to the Welsh story, Pwyll, Prince of Dyved, one day met a strange huntsman with a pack of curiously spotted hounds. He proved to be Arawn, one of the kings of Annwn, or Hades. He offered to change places with Pwyll for a year in order that Pwyll might smite his rival Havgan, another king of Hades, whom he as a spirit could not injure. Pwyll accepted the offer, spent a year in Hades, conquered Havgan, and returned to his own kingdom, which he found had been governed excellently by Arawn during his absence, who had exactly simulated his appearance, so as to deceive even his wife.[109]

The Slavs called the subterranean abode of the dead

[105] *Pharsalia,* i. 457ff.
[106] II. vi. 10.
[107] III. 2, 19.
[108] *Virt. Mul.* 20.
[109] Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom,* pp. 337-360.

Nav, which is connected with Lettic *nāve,* 'dead,' Greek *nékus,* 'dead person,' Gothic *naus,* 'corpse.' The Polish chronicler Dlugosz says that the pagan Slavs call Pluto "Nya," and pray him after death to grant them better places in Hades.

The general Teutonic name for the Underworld was *Hell;* Gothic, *Halya;* Norse, *Hel;* Anglo-Saxon, *Hell;* Old High German, *Hella;* German, *Hölle;* which is connected with Gothic and Old High German *helan,* Anglo Saxon *helan,* German *hehlen,* and Old English *heal,* 'to hide.' It had thus exactly the same original meaning as *Hades,* 'the invisible world.' Only in Norse did the term come to be used also for the goddess of the Underworld. *Hell* was originally not the place of punishment that it has become in Christian theology as a result of its use in Biblical versions to translate the Jewish-New Testament word *Gehenna.* It was the underground abode of the dead, good and bad alike, like the Greek *Hades* and the Hebrew *Sheôl.* The translation of *Sheôl* by *Hell* in the Old Testament was originally correct, but has become misleading for the modern mind through the confusion of *Gehenna* and *Sheôl.*[110]

5. *Spirits of the Dead Dwell in Paradise.*—If the theory be correct that cremation was originally performed only in the case of kings, chieftains, or heroes, and that the purpose was to restore their spirits to the gods from whom they had sprung; then there must have been from the beginning a House of Lords among the dead. In nearly all branches of the Indo-Germanic race traces are found of a Paradise to which aristocratic souls go instead of to the plebeian abode of Hades. The later tendency everywhere is to democratize this Paradise and to extend its privileges to an ever increasing number. This development keeps pace with the granting of the privilege of cremation to the plebeians.

In India the *Vedas* know of the realm of Yama, be-

[110] See pp. 287ff.

yond the western mountains. Yama, the son of Vivasvant, was the first man (although he had a father), who reigned on earth in the Golden Age. "He might have lived as immortal, but he chose to die, or rather he incurred the penalty of death, for under this choice a fall is disguised. He was the first to traverse the road from which there is no return, tracing it for future generations. It is there, at the remotest extremities of the heavens, the abode of light and of the eternal waters, that he reigns henceforth in peace and in union with Varuna. There by the sound of his flute, under the branches of the mystic tree, he assembles around him the dead who have lived nobly. They reach him in a crowd, conveyed by Agni, guided by Pûshan, and grimly scanned as they pass by the two monstrous dogs who are the guardians of the road. Clothed in a glorious body, and made to drink of the celestial *soma,* which renders them immortal, they enjoy henceforward by his side an endless felicity, seated at the same tables with the gods, gods themselves, and adored here below under the name of *Pitris,* or fathers. At their head are, of course, the first sacrificers, the minstrels of other days, Atharvan, the Angiras, the Kavyas, the *Pitris* by pre-eminence, equal to the greatest of the gods, who by their sacrifice delivered the world from chaos, gave birth to the sun, and kindled the stars." [111] In the *Rig Veda* [112] the prayer is offered: "Where all pleasures and bliss, where enjoyment and gratification, where all wishes are attained, there let me be immortal."

In Persia, in the *Avesta,* Yama appears as Yima (in later Persian legend Jemshid), the son of Vîvanhant; and his sister Yimi, as Yimek, or Yime. At first he ruled over men in a paradise on earth. "There a year is as a day, and there are lights created and uncreated. And

[111] Barth, *The Religions of India,* pp. 22f.
[112] IX. 113, 7ff.

once in forty years are born a male and a female to every couple; and there men live the happiest life; and there is neither cold nor heat nor death." Yima was unfaithful to his trust and died, and in the oldest form of the pre-Zoroastrian Iranian tradition his paradise became the abode of the noble dead.

The Greeks knew of a similar abode of the distinguished dead which they called *Elysium.* In the *Odyssey* Proteus, the prophetic sea-god, says to Menelaus:

> " 'Tis not decreed that thou shalt meet thy fate
> And die, most noble Menelaus, where
> The steeds of Argus in her pastures graze.
> The gods will send thee to the Elysian plain,
> And to the end of earth, the dwelling-place
> Of fair-haired Rhadamanthus. There do men
> Lead easiest lives. No snow, no bitter cold,
> No beating rains, are there; the ocean-deeps
> With murmuring breezes from the West refresh
> The dwellers. Thither shalt thou go: for thou
> Art Helen's spouse, and son-in-law of Jove." [113]

The common derivation of Ἠλύσιον, *Elysium,* from the root *eleuth,* 'come, arrive,' is unsatisfactory. Others have suggested that it is connected with *Earu* (*Aalu*), the Egyptian paradise, and that Rhadamanthus equals Ra-Amenti, or Ra (the sun-god) of the Egyptian Hades.[114] Both of these etymologies are most unlikely. A more probable explanation is that of A. N. Veselovskij, followed by O. Schrader, that *ēlúsion* is for *fēlúsion,* and is connected with Lithuanian *wẽlés,* 'spirits of the dead,' and the Lithuanian goddess of the dead *Vielona;* Norse *valr,* 'slain,' and *val-höll, Valhalla,* 'hall of the slain'; Anglo-Saxon *wæl,* 'the dead on the battlefield'; Old High German *wal, wuol,* 'slaughter.' According to this, *Elysium* was identical with *Valhalla,* and was originally

[113] *Odyssey,* iv. 560ff., Bryant's translation, iv. 717ff.
[114] See p. 170.

the dwelling-place of the souls of heroes who fell in battle. Thither also living men might be translated without tasting death.

Pindar [115] (522-443 B.C.) gives a beautiful description of the joys of Elysium. "Ever through nights, and ever through days the same, the good receive an unlaborious life beneath the sunshine. They vex not with might of hand the earth or the waters of the sea for food that satisfieth not, but among the honoured gods, such as had pleasure in keeping of oaths enjoy a tearless life; but the others have pain too fearful to behold. Howbeit, they who thrice on either side of death have stood fast and wholly refrained their souls from deeds unjust, journey on the road to Zeus to the tower of Cronus, where the ocean-breezes blow around the islands of the blest, and flowers gleam bright with gold, some on trees of glory on the land, while others the water feeds; with wreaths thereof they entwine their arms and crown their heads." [116]

In Italy there is nothing to correspond to Elysium, except in writers who borrow directly from Greek sources. Among the Celts, however, the idea is highly developed. Welsh legends tell of the land of Avallon beyond the western seas whither heroes are transported, and where they lead a life of perfect bliss. Tennyson has caught the true spirit of the Welsh bards when in the *Passing of Arthur* he describes this land:—

> "But now farewell. I am going a long way
> With these thou seëst—if indeed I go
> (For all my mind is clouded with a doubt)—
> To the island-valley of Avilion;
> Where falls not rain, or hail, or any snow,
> Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
> Deep-meadow'd, happy, fair with orchard lawns
> And bowery hollows crown'd with summer sea,
> Where I will heal me of my grievous wound."

[115] *Olympian*, ii. 61ff.

[116] Translation of James Adam, in *Religious Teachers of Greece*, p. 132.

Here Arthur still lives on, destined one day to return and deliver his people from the rule of the Saxons.

The Irish stories of Elysium are of three sorts. In one a fairy from this land tempts a mortal to leave this world and join her in the Islands of the Blessed. After a blissful stay of hundreds of years homesickness leads him to return to Erin. He is allowed to go, but is bidden not to set foot on the shore. Breaking this command, he turns instantly to ashes. In another form of the story the hero, like Odysseus, visits the Islands in quest of information, or to recover a lost wife. He is ferried over in a bronze skiff, the counterpart of Charon's boat over the Styx, and of the ferryman in Egyptian mythology. In a third type of narrative voyagers to the West accidentally discover the Blessed Isles, and bring back reports of what they saw and heard there.[117]

The Teutonic counterpart of these ideas is Valhalla, 'the Hall of the Slain,' which, as we saw above, is perhaps etymologically connected with Elysium.[118] This is Gladhsheimr, 'the home of joy.' Its walls and roof are built of shields and spears. Before its door a wolf-skin hangs, and over it hovers an eagle. Within sits Odhin, who welcomes most cordially the one who has slain the greatest number of enemies. Thither go the souls of those heroes who are able to shout, "Laughing I die," escorted by the Valkyries, who there wait upon and serve them with beer "immer noch ein's." It is a thoroughly Germanic, militaristic, and aristocratic paradise. This region also lay beyond the sea, so that in Scandinavia it was customary to ship the Viking to it in the bark with which in life he had sailed the main.

6. *Spirits of the Dead Dwell in Tartarus.*—In ancient Indo-European thought only two realms of the dead were known, Hades for the commoners, and Elysium for the nobles; but subsequently logical consistency created in

[117] See p. 170.
[118] See p. 109.

some parts of the Aryan world a place of punishment for the conspicuously wicked. The *Rig Veda* prays already: "Indra and Soma, hurl the evil-doer into the prison, into fathomless darkness, whence none shall come out again! So shall your stern might constrain them"; "Beneath the earth shall all they dwell who by day and night contrive deceit against us"; "Those who roam like brotherless maidens, who lead an evil life like wives that deceive their husbands, who are wicked, faithless, false—such have prepared for themselves that deep place." [119] In later Brahmanism and in Buddhism the doctrine of Hell had a great development.

Zoroastrian dualism also developed a Hell as the abode of Ahriman, the Prince of Darkness, and of all evil spirits, over against the Heaven of Ahura Mazda and the good spirits; and the later parts of the *Avesta* contain elaborate descriptions of the tortures of this Inferno, but this formed no part of early Iranian belief.

Homer knows a place called Tartarus, far beneath the lowest depths of Hades, to which conspicuous sinners are condemned. Thus Zeus says of the god who shall presume to break his command:—

> "Back to Olympus, scourged and in disgrace,
> Shall he be brought, or I will seize and hurl
> The offender down to rayless Tartarus,
> Deep, deep in the great gulf below the earth,
> With iron gates and threshold forged of brass,
> As far beneath the shades as earth from heaven." [120]

The closing lines of the eleventh book of the *Odyssey* which describe the tortures of Tityus, Tantalus, and Sisyphus are, as remarked above, probably an Orphic interpolation. Hesiod, like Homer, knows Elysium for a few great heroes of antiquity, Tartarus for a few specially heinous sinners, and Hades for the vast majority

[119] Moore, *Religions*, p. 268.
[120] *Iliad*, viii. 13ff.

of men. Orphism, probably in dependence upon Oriental thought, greatly developed the idea of rewards and punishments in the other world in the intervals between re-incarnations, but the idea of a place of punishment is not found elsewhere in the Indo-European world, and is evidently a relatively late and sporadic development.

CHAPTER IV

THE CULT OF THE DEAD AMONG THE INDO-EUROPEANS

a. Deification of Spirits of the Dead.—Because of their superhuman powers the dead were regarded by all the Indo-European peoples as belonging to the class of gods. They were not confused with the bright powers of nature, and there is no evidence that gods were developed out of ghosts, nevertheless, spirits of the dead formed a distinct class of superhuman beings alongside of nature-spirits. In the *Vedas* the *dēvas,* or 'gods,' and the *pitaras,* or 'ancestors,' are carefully distinguished, but both are divine, both are invited to the sacrifices, and both partake of the offerings. In Greece they are the θεοὶ πατρῷοι, 'the ancestral gods.' In Rome they are the *di parentes,* 'the parental gods,' the *di manes,* or *divi manes,* 'the good gods.' Among the peasants of White Russia they are the *svjaty dzjady,* 'the sacred grandfathers.' The sacrifices offered to the dead, which were similar to those offered to the gods, prove that they belonged to the same general class of superhuman beings.

b. The Cult of the Dead.—In the ordinary Aryan family individual worship of the dead did not extend beyond three generations of ascendants. The great-grandfather, grandfather, and father were the only ancestors that one knew, and these alone were honoured by name after death. In India "to three ancestors is the water offered, to three is the *piṇḍa* given; the fourth (*i.e.,* the worshipping descendant) gives it to the three; the fifth (*i.e.,* the great-great-grandson) has nothing to do with it." [1] Similarly the Greek *goneis,* or 'begetters,' include

[1] *Laws of Manu,* ix. 186.

the three generations that precede a man. "The begetters are the mother and father, the grandfather and grandmother, and their mother and father, for these are the origin of the family." [2] The same holds true of the Latin *parentes*. "In common language *parens* means father and mother, but in legal terminology the grandfather and great-grandfather, the grandmother and great-grandmother are also called *parentes*." [3] In similar manner the peasants of Great Russia use the term *roditeli,* 'parents,' and the peasants of White Russia, the term *dzjady,* 'grandfathers,' as including three generations of ascendants.

Beyond these immediate relatives whom one had known in life there was no individual cult of the dead. Remoter ancestors faded away into the indiscriminate mass of discarnate spirits. In India these were known by the general term *pitaras,* or 'forefathers.' They were invited collectively to be present at the sacrifices, but they were not invoked by name. They were identical with the Greek θεοὶ πατρῷοι, 'the ancestral gods,' and with the Roman *di manes*. Only occasionally was the need felt for preserving the memory of a remote ancestor as a basis of unity for a tribe or a community; or an individual was honoured because of some distinguished service that he had rendered in war or in peace. Thus arose hero-worship, through which individual forefathers escaped the oblivion that befell most of the ancients. This is found in India, Persia and among the Celts. It had a great development in Greece, but it was unknown in Italy before the intrusion of Greek influence.

The cult of the dead was thus primarily a family affair (*sacra privata*) as opposed to public worship (*sacra publica*) of the great gods of the State. Only when a tribe or community was united in the worship of a common ancestor or hero did worship of the dead take on

[2] Isæus, viii. 32.
[3] Festus, *s. v. parens.*

a national character. It was the duty of the State also to provide offerings for spirits of the dead who had left no descendants, and to this extent offerings to the *di manes* became *sacra publica.*

c. Preparation for Burial.—Among all the Aryans it is customary to remove a sick person from his bed and place him on the ground when death is expected. In India "a dying man, when no hopes of his surviving remain, should be laid upon a bed of *kuśa* grass, either in the house or out of it, if he be a *Śudra,* but in the open air if he belong to another tribe." In Europe from Ireland to the Caspian Sea it is usual to lay a dying man upon the earth or upon straw. The probable reason for this is to prevent pollution of the bed through contact with the corpse which is *tabu.* When the dying man is taken out of the house, the purpose is the same, to protect it from the infection of uncleanness. A similar motive leads to the pouring out of water and other liquids that are contained in vessels at the time of a death in the house. The liquids can absorb *tabu,* and thus render the vessels unfit for use.

In many parts of the Indo-European world religious rites are performed to assist the soul in leaving the body and to facilitate its entrance into the other world. In India the dying man is sprinkled with water from the Ganges, and his body is smeared with clay from the same sacred stream. In Persia the *haoma,* which is identical with the Indian *soma,* the fermented juice of a sacred plant, is given to the dying like the Eucharist *in extremis.*

In all parts of Europe the peasants are accustomed at the moment of death to open a door or window, or to remove a tile from the roof, in order to allow the spirit an easy means of escape from the house. The opening is left for only a moment, and then is closed to prevent the return of the spirit to haunt the house. A still more primitive custom, which is attested among the Greeks and Romans, is for a near relative to receive the last

breath of the dying into his mouth, and thus become possessed by the discarnate spirit.

The moment that death occurs the relatives break out into loud lamentation, and this lasts until the funeral ceremonies are complete. The laments comprise calls to the dead to return, expostulations with him for forsaking those who love him and are dependent upon him, praises of his virtues, and promises to avenge him if he has been killed in battle or by sorcery. They develop into elaborate dirges that are handed down traditionally with variable collects that are suitable for all sorts of cases. They are usually recited or chanted by the women of the family; but, as among the Semites, professional mourners are often hired for the occasion. When the news of Patroclus' death was brought to Achilles,

> "Grasping in both hands
> The ashes of the hearth, he showered them o'er
> His head, and soiled with them his noble face.
> They hung in dark lumps to his comely vest.
> Prone in the dust of earth, at his full length,
> And tearing his disordered hair, he lay.
> Then wailed aloud the maidens whom in war
> He and Patroclus captured. Forth they came,
> And thronging round him smote their breasts and swooned." [4]

Similarly at the funeral of Patroclus,

> "When the maid
> Briseis, beautiful as Venus, saw
> Patroclus lying gashed with wounds, she sprang
> And threw herself upon the dead, and tore
> Her bosom, her fair cheeks and delicate neck;
> And thus the graceful maiden weeping said:
> 'Patroclus, dear to my unhappy heart!
> I left thee in full life, when from this tent
> They led me; I return and find thee dead,
> O chieftain of the people! Thus it is
> That sorrow upon sorrow is my lot.' " [5]

[4] *Iliad*, xviii. 22ff.
[5] *Iliad*, xix. 282ff.

When Priam brings the body of Hector back to Troy,

> "On a fair couch they laid the corse, and placed
> Singers beside it, leaders of the dirge,
> Who sang a sorrowful, lamenting strain,
> And all the women answered it with sobs.
> White-armed Andromache in both her hands
> Took warlike Hector's head, and over it
> Began the lamentation midst them all:
> 'Thou hast died young, my husband, leaving me
> In this thy home a widow, and one son,
> An infant yet.'" [6]

So violent were the expressions of grief that early lawgivers found it necessary to check them by legislative enactment. Solon directed that only the women nearest of kin to the deceased should take part in the mourning, that they should abstain from violent outbursts and from mutilating themselves, and that they should not use set forms of dirges.[7]

Precisely similar customs exist among the Russian peasantry at the present time. "The room of the peasant's house in which the dead body lies re-echoes with the weeping mourning of relatives, neighbours and acquaintances. In such a case the women naturally distinguish themselves by special ecstasies of feeling, their wailing and moaning and their despair at times reaching such a pitch that, on looking at them, one involuntarily begins to be apprehensive not only for the health, but even for the life of some of them." [8]

Among all the Aryans great care was bestowed upon the last toilet of the dead. The eyes were closed, and weights were placed upon the lids to keep them down. The probable reason was the desire to keep the spirit which still haunted its body from casting an evil eye upon the living. The body was washed, sometimes before

[6] *Iliad*, xxiv. 719ff.
[7] Plutarch, *Solon*, 21.
[8] P. V. Šejn, *Materials for a Knowledge of the Life and Language of the Russian Population of the North-West*, quoted in Hastings, *Enc. Rel. and Eth.*, ii. p. 19 b.

death occurred, so as to avoid the *tabu* of contact with the corpse, and was dressed in its best clothes, sometimes in garments specially prepared for the purpose. Sandals or shoes were provided for the long journey to the other world. In earliest times all the ornaments and jewelry that had belonged to the living were put upon him, and all his implements, weapons and other personal property were laid beside him. In later times motives of economy led to the substitution of a single typical ornament and the placing of a small coin (Charon's penny) in the hand, or in the mouth of the deceased. Originally the body was tied up in the so-called "embryonic" position with the knees under the chin, as among savage peoples in all parts of the world. Some anthropologists explain this as a symbolic expression of the thought that death is birth into another life; others, as merely an imitation of the squatting position in which men rested before stools or chairs were invented. In later times the body was extended at full length, the position in which men were accustomed to sleep upon beds or couches.

After the corpse was prepared for burial it lay in state, usually until the third day after death. Among the Greeks it was placed on a bier in the middle of the house or tent with its feet toward the door.[9] The same custom survives today among the peasants of White Russia. "The lying in state takes place in the 'corner' (*kutŭ*), which in this case does not mean the 'corner' under the sacred images, but the bench opposite the entrance door." "They lay the dead body on a long broad bench, or on a frame specially prepared for it in the middle of the room, with the head towards the sacred images." "The White Russian peasant wishes to lie on his own 'bench' after his death; he has not died 'decently' if he has lain in the 'corner' in a stranger's house."[10] In some places the lying in state was extended over a second night, or even

[9] *Iliad*, xix. 212.
[10] P. V. Šejn, in Hastings, *Enc. Rel. and Eth.*, ii. p. 19 a.

longer. Thus among the Romans in the case of high dignitaries it lasted for seven days.

The custom was wide-spread of keeping lights burning at night during the laying out of the corpse. In India this was kept up for ten days after death, and was said to be done in order to light the spirit on its journey to the other world. This custom survives in all parts of modern Europe in the lighting of candles at the head and the feet of the dead.

During the night, or nights, in which the body was lying in state it was expected that the relatives and friends would sit up with it. This was the "wake" which was once universal in Europe, is still familiar in Ireland, and has not yet entirely disappeared from England and Scotland. The explanation commonly given of this world-wide custom is that the spirit remains with its body until burial; and that if one falls asleep, it may enter into him, causing sickness or death. Among the Slavic Wends of the Spreewald, not only the family, but even the cattle are kept awake, and seed-grain is stirred so long as the corpse remains in the house. Food and drink were provided for the relatives and friends who sat up with the dead, and games were played to while away the time. Thus "wakes" easily degenerated into drunkenness and brawling. Food was also set out for the dead in order that he might share in the festivities with the living. These food-offerings still survive in many parts of Europe. In Russia a piece of bread is laid upon the head of the deceased, and a bowl of water is placed beside him. In the department of Loir-et-Cher, France, all the food that is found in the house is thrown into the room in which the dead is laid out. In Greece both bread and water are placed upon the bier. In India a dish of rice and a bowl of water are set out in the house for ten days after death. In many parts of Europe all that survives of the feast is a dish of water.[11]

[11] E. S. Hartland, in Hastings, *Enc. Rel. and Eth.*, iv. pp. 415, 418.

Coffins were unknown during the Stone Age, and are not found in any of the oldest cemeteries of Greece, Italy, or of northern Europe. Even in the Mycenæan period of the Bronze Age in Greece they did not yet appear. In the time of Lycurgus the Spartans were wrapped in a purple shroud, and buried upon branches of palm and olive.[12] Subsequently in "dipylon-graves" of the "geometric" period the dead are buried in huge *pithoi,* or water-jars. Still later coffins and sarcophagi were introduced from Egypt and from the Orient. The earliest race that has left records in the Campagna in Italy enclosed its dead in hollow trunks of trees. The same custom appeared in northern Europe during the later Bronze Age. It still survives among some Slavonic tribes and religious sects. The modern coffin, a box constructed out of boards, is of Christian origin, and spread throughout Europe with the diffusion of Christianity.

The funeral procession was an important feature in the obsequies of all the Indo-Europeans. In India "the corpse is carried out by the southern gate of the town, if the deceased were a *Śudra;* by the western, if he were a *Bráhmána;* by the northern, if he belonged to the military class; and by the eastern portal, if he sprang from the mercantile tribe. Should the road pass through any inhabited place, a circuit must be made to avoid it; and when the procession has reached its destination, after once halting by the way, the corpse must be gently laid with the head towards the south on a bed of *kuśa,* the tips of which are pointed southward." [13] In Persia the *Avesta* prescribes that the funeral procession must take place in the day time and in dry weather. The body is carried on an iron bier (iron has special prophylactic powers against *tabu*) by professional bearers who guard against defilement of themselves or others. In Greece the *ekphorá,*

[12] Rohde, *Psyche,*[4] i. p. 226, notes 2. 3.
[13] Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches,* vii. p. 241.

or carrying from the house to the grave or pyre, as described in Homer, was an elaborate ritual. It is often depicted upon ancient dipylon-vases. The body is carried upon an open bier or upon a waggon drawn by two horses, while men with drawn swords march at the side, and a host of mourning women beating their heads with their hands.[14] In Rome the dead man was carried out of the house feet first in order that he might not see which way he was going and be able to find his way back. The masks of the ancestors were brought out, and were worn by impersonators, and the procession moved to the Forum, where the dead man was made to stand erect on the tribunal visible to all. The relatives and citizens gathered round him, and the nearest relative pronounced a eulogy in his honour, if he were a noble.[15]

d. Disposal of the Dead Among the Indo-Europeans. —1. *Exposure.*—The earliest Indo-European custom seems to have been exposure of the dead to be devoured by beasts and birds. Herodotus, i. 140, says: "The body of a male Persian is never buried, until it has been torn either by a dog or bird of prey. That the Magi have this custom is beyond a doubt, for they practise it without any concealment." Strabo also relates, xi. 11, 3, that exposure of the dead was the rule in East Iran. This has been usual among nomadic tribes in all parts of the world. The practice has survived in orthodox Zoroastrianism, which requires that bodies shall not be buried for fear of polluting the earth, or burned for fear of polluting the sacred fire. In antiquity the dead were laid on dry ground far from the dwellings of men, but subsequently towers called *dakhmas* were constructed to receive them. Such towers were common in Persia before the triumph of Islām, and they are still used by the Parsees in India. The bodies are laid upon iron bars, and the flesh is devoured by vultures. The bones then

[14] Rohde, *Psyche*,[4] i. p. 222, 224, 226.
[15] Granger, *Worship of the Romans*, p. 65.

fall through between the bars into a pit in the centre. In India, even in Vedic times, exposure of the dead was known, although burial and cremation were more common; and in the *Ramayana,* i. 90, 17, it is said, "When a man dies he is buried, or burned, or exposed." Down to the present time it is customary to cast bodies into the Ganges. These survivals prove that once exposure was the habit of the Aryans in India as well as of the closely related Iranians.

The same thing is proved by the connection of dogs with the dead in Indo-European mythology and ritual. In the *Rig Veda* mention is made of the dogs of Yama, the King of the Underworld. In x. 14 they are called "thy guardian dogs, O Yama, the four-eyed ones who guard the path, who look on men . . . broad-nosed, dark messengers of Yama, who run among the people." In vii. 55, 2, they are described as spotted and as barking. In the Avestan religion a dog with "four eyes," that is with white spots over the eyes, must be brought in to gaze upon the corpse when it is laid out; a dog also meets the soul on the bridge over which it must pass to the other world. Homer (*Il.* viii. 368; *Od.* xi. 623) knows a dog that guards the entrance to Hades, but does not name him. Hesiod (*Theog.* 311) calls him *Kerberos;* and says that he greets new-comers with wagging tail, but devours those who try to escape from Hades. The name *Kerberos* has been compared with Sanskrit *Çárvara,* 'spotted.' Even Hermes, the conductor of souls in Greek mythology, seems to be etymologically identical with *Sārameyas,* the son of *Saramā,* the bitch of the gods in the *Veda.* Hekate, a goddess of Hades, was represented originally with a bitch's head,[16] and was attended with a pack of hounds. Dogs were also frequently depicted on Greek tombstones.[17] Among the Celts Hades was conceived as a monstrous dog that devoured the

[16] Usener, *Götternamen,* p. 325.
[17] Rohde, *Psyche,*[4] i. 242; ii. 83 n.

dead, and the King of the Underworld hunted with a pack of spotted dogs.[18] Among the Slavs, as among the Persians, a dog was necessary to catch the soul of the dying; or, according to later conceptions, to accompany it into the other world.[19] All these widely scattered conceptions point to a time when corpses were exposed to be devoured by dogs.

2. *Burial.*—When the Aryans abandoned the nomadic life and began to become agriculturalists, exposure of the dead gave place to burial. Comparative philology shows that this custom goes back to a time prior to the separation of the branches of this race.

In India cremation was the rule in Vedic times, but burial also was known. In the *Rig Veda,* x. 15, 14, the *pitaras* are divided into "those who have been burned with fire and those who have not been burned with fire." Also in the *Atharva Veda,* xvii. 2, 34, "buried and cremated" are distinguished among the *pitaras.* The *Mahabharata* also knows the burial of adults. In modern India infants are buried, and the bones of adults who have been cremated are buried for a few days and are then thrown into the Ganges—a curious mixture of three methods of disposal.

The Iranian Scythians practised burial only, according to Herodotus, iv. 71 ff. In i. 140 he narrates that, while the Magi exposed their dead, the rest of the Persians buried them in a covering of wax. Archæology shows that the Achæmenian Persian kings were buried in their tombs at Persepolis. Apparently the prohibition of burial in the *Vendidad* was not yet known; the *Gathas,* the earliest part of the *Avesta,* do not contain it.

In Greek *thaptō* (root *taph*) means both 'bury' and 'burn,' and *taphos* means both 'grave' and 'funeral ceremony'; but the original meaning is 'bury,' as is shown by the Armenian parallel *damban,* 'grave,' and old High

[18] Hopkins, *Religions,* p. 132; Macbain, *Celtic Religion,* p. 138.
[19] Hopkins, *Religions,* p. 145.

German *tunc,* 'pit.' In the Mycenæan age in Greece burial alone was the custom, but it is possible that the Mycenæans belonged to an earlier pre-Greek race. Unquestionably Greek cemeteries, however, disclose a preponderance of burials over cremations. Out of nineteen "dipylon-graves" of the "geometric" period discovered in the earliest Athenian cemetery only one contained an urn with ashes and burnt bones. Even when the body was cremated, it was usual to bury the bones. Burial, accordingly, seems to have been the primitive custom.

In Latin the original meaning of *sepelio* is unquestionably not 'burn' but 'bury.' It is connected with Sanskrit *sapary,* 'honour,' and indicates the primitive ritual significance of burial. Latin *orcus,* 'underworld,' is also probably the equivalent of Gothic *aúrahi,* 'sepulchre.' Excavations in Italy show that the oldest cemeteries contain burials only, in higher levels urns of ashes begin to appear along with burial, and these become more frequent until Christian times, when burial again becomes the only method. Roman tradition recorded a law of the regal period which forbade that a pregnant woman should be buried until the unborn child had been cut out of her. This implies burial as the only method of disposing of the dead. The *Law of the Twelve Tables,* x. 1, reads, "Let no one bury or burn a dead man in the city"; and x. 8, 9, "Nor let one bestow gold on one who eats with teeth joined with gold, either let one bury or burn him with it." Cicero [20] says: "To me that kind of burial seems most ancient which Cyrus employed, according to Xenophon. In it the body is returned to earth. We are told also that King Numa was buried by the same rite in that tomb which is near the Altar of the Fountain, and it is well known that the clan of the Cornelii have used this mode of sepulture down to our time." According to Pliny,[21] "Cremation was not an

[20] *De Legibus,* ii. 22.
[21] *Hist. Nat.,* vii. 187.

ancient custom among the Romans; they deposited in the ground. . . . Nevertheless, many families have preserved the ancient rites, as, for instance, the Cornelian clan, where it is handed down that no one was cremated before the Dictator Sulla." Even when cremation became common, the ashes were always buried; and the custom of the *os resectum,* in accordance with which a finger, or some other part of the body was buried, even when the rest was burned, indicates burial as the more primitive usage.

Among the Celts, Teutons, and Slavs archæology shows that the primitive method of disposal of the dead was inhumation, and this conclusion is confirmed by comparative philology which shows that the words for 'bury' and 'grave' in the languages of these peoples are found in all the other Indo-European dialects. Classical writers mention only cremation among them, but this is to be regarded as an innovation, as in Greece and Italy.

3. *Cremation.*—Alongside of burial cremation is found at a very early date in all Indo-European lands. In the *Vedas* it is regarded as the usual method, and it is the only one for which ritual forms are provided. This custom has lasted down to modern times in India. The sons of the deceased prepare a pyre in a ceremonially clean spot, preferably near a sacred river, and the body is laid upon it. The pyre is lighted with "clean" fire, and burns until the skull cracks, when it is believed that the spirit escapes from the body. If this does not take place at the proper time, the skull is fractured with a club in order to facilitate the egress of the soul. When a person has died away from home, or when for any reason the body has disappeared, an effigy is prepared which is cremated in the place of the real corpse.[22]

In Persia cremation was common among the non-Zoroastrian tribes, as is evident from the prohibitions of the *Avesta.* Even the name *dakhma,* which is applied to the

[22] See H. T. Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches,* vii. 1803, pp. 241ff.

towers on which the dead are exposed, means originally 'burning-place.'

In Greece cremation was the rule in the Homeric age as appears from *Iliad,* xxiii. 114ff., where the Greeks go to the mountains to obtain logs for the funeral-pyre of Patroclus. Later Greek writers show that cremation was the usual, although by no means the exclusive practice, among the upper classes, and this testimony is borne out by archæology.

In Rome, in cemeteries of the Iron Age, cremations and inhumations appear side by side. The *Laws of the Twelve Tables,* as noted above, sanction both burning and burial. Latin writers are full of allusions to cremation.

Among the Celts cremation is known from the testimony of Cæsar,[23] and Pomponius Mela,[24] and also from the discoveries of archæology. In the Hallstatt cemetery, which is probably of Celtic origin, four hundred and fifty-five ash graves are found with five hundred and twenty-five burial graves.

Cremation among the Slavs of the lower Danube is attested by the Arab historians Mas'ūdi, Ibn Dūstah and Ibn Fadhlān. The last of these represents a Russian as saying: "You Arabs are indeed a stupid people: you take him who is the best beloved and the most highly honoured among men and cast him into the earth, where the creeping beasts and worms feed on him. We, on the other hand, burn him in an instant, so that he goes directly, without delay, into Paradise." [25] Early Church Fathers and canons inveigh against this practice. In a treaty between the pagan Prussians and Lithuanians and the Teutonic Knights from the year 1249 it is stipulated that the former shall no longer continue the heathenish custom of burning the dead. Peter of Dusburg also gives

[23] *De Bello Gallico,* vi. 19.
[24] *Chorographia,* iii. 19.
[25] Ibn Fadhlān, ed. and trans. by C. E. Frahn, St. Petersburg, 1828.

detailed accounts of cremations of people of rank among the North Slavs.

Teutonic cremation is recorded by Tacitus,[26] and is presupposed by the Edda, Nibelungenlied, and Beowulf. As late as A.D. 785 Charlemagne issued a decree against the Saxons: "If any one, in accordance with the custom of the Pagans, shall commit the body of a dead man to the flame to be burned, or shall reduce his bones to ashes, he shall suffer capital punishment." In Scandinavia cremations were common alongside of burials during the Iron Age. In Northern Norway the corpse was sometimes burned in the ship in which during life its owner had sailed.[27]

From the foregoing facts it is clear that, while burial was probably the older custom among the Indo-Europeans, cremation was found in all branches of the race, and was of high antiquity. To explain the origin of this new method of disposing of the dead several theories have been proposed. E. Rohde,[28] S. Müller,[29] and R. Much[30] think that it arose out of a desire to free the soul from its connection with the body. According to ancient belief it clung to its dead body and continued to haunt the tomb in which this was buried. The purpose of burial was to preserve the body as long as possible as a habitation for the discarnate spirit. On the contrary, the aim of cremation was to destroy the body as rapidly as possible so that the soul might be free to enter upon a celestial existence. According to these scholars, the dogma of cremation arose in one branch of the Indo-European race, and spread to other branches of the race. The chief difficulty with this theory is the antiquity of cremation—it goes back to the Bronze Age—which suggests that it was practised by the Aryans before their sepa-

[26] *Germania*, 27.
[27] See Hastings, *Encl. Rel. and Eth.*, ii., p. 17.
[28] *Psyche*,[4] pp. 27-36.
[29] *Nordische Altertumskunde*, i. pp. 363ff.
[30] *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, xlviii. pp. 315ff.

ration; it is also improbable that a dogma of this sort should spread from race to race, when there is no evidence that other dogmas have spread in a similar way.

W. Ridgeway [31] modifies the theory by the claim that cremation originated among the Celts, and was spread by them through conquest to Italy, Greece, and even as far as Persia and India; but of such a conquest we have no evidence apart from the appearance of cremation in all Indo-European lands.

E. Meyer [32] holds that cremation was a primitive Aryan custom alongside of inhumation, but that it was performed originally only in the case of heroes, chieftains, or kings, who were believed to partake of the divine nature and therefore were returned by fire to the celestial regions. Subsequently the rite was extended to ordinary persons, just as in Egypt royal funeral rites eventually became the property of private citizens.[33] This theory seems best to explain the facts. In India young children are not burned. In Homer only heroes are laid on the pyre; there is no evidence that common people or slaves were cremated, except when they accompanied their lord. The cremations among the Celts and Teutons which Cæsar and Tacitus describe were evidently of nobles on account of the costly offerings that accompanied them. This distinction among the dead is found among widely scattered savage peoples. The Algonkins, for instance, burn the great, but bury ordinary people.[34]

e. Rites of Burial.—1. *The Place of Burial.*—The oldest usage apparently was to bury the dead in the houses in which they had lived. The houses were then abandoned by the other members of the family. The memory of this custom still lingered among the Greeks in the Classical period. When the body of Phocion was

[31] *The Early Age of Greece*, i, chap. vii.
[32] *Geschichte des Altertums*,[2] ii. p. 771.
[33] See p. 174.
[34] Hopkins, *Religions*, p. 89.

burned in a foreign land, his wife placed the bones that remained in her bosom, carried them home, brought them in by night into his house, and buried them alongside of the hearth.[35] Servius[36] says that the original Roman custom was to bury in the house. As late as the *Laws of the Twelve Tables* people were still buried in the courtyard, and in the Classical period infants less than forty days old were buried in niches in the wall under the overhanging eaves. The early sepulchral urns from Latium found at Alba and on the Esquiline are imitations of the huts in which the primitive inhabitants of the region dwelt. The Roman cult of the *lares* is closely connected with the interment of ancestors in the family dwelling. The earliest Celts also apparently buried beside the family hearth, and this custom lasted among the Ædui down to a late date.

In the earliest times, when the house was a mere wigwam, it was possible to abandon it to the dead; but with advancing civilisation this became impracticable, and it was necessary either for the living to share the abode with the dead, or to remove the dead from the house. Both methods were in use, but the latter prevailed. The dead were then laid in graves beside roads, or paths, or at cross-ways. Roads served as boundaries between families and clans, and where the departed were placed on the edge of the estate they protected it from intrusion by outsiders. This custom is attested in India, Greece, Italy, and among the Slavs; and the monuments of the Roman nobles still line the main thoroughfares leading to the Eternal City.

The primitive Aryan grave was merely a shallow trench over which after burial a tumulus, or mound, was heaped, varying in size according to the importance of the individual. In the Homeric poems tumuli are reared

[35] Plutarch, *Phocion*, 37; cf. [Plato], *Minos*, 315 D.
[36] *Ad Æn.*, v. 64; vi. 162.

over the ashes of heroes, and similar "barrows" are found among the Celts and the Teutons. The elaborate "bee-hive" tombs of the Mycenæan period are probably pre-Aryan, and the dolmens, cromlechs, and other megalithic sepulchral monuments of northern Europe are also pre-Aryan. Down to the latest times the common people continued to be interred in simple graves. The rock-hewn tombs and mausolea of the Greek and the Roman aristocracy were imitations of Egyptian and Oriental fashions.

2. *Offerings Placed in the Grave.*—Archæology shows that from the beginning of the Neolithic age onward food and drink, weapons and ornaments, and even favourite animals, slaves, and wives, were buried with the dead in all parts of Europe. The original idea seems to have been that all the personal property of the deceased must go with him into the other world, and that he must be abundantly supplied with provisions for the journey. When inhumation gave place to cremation, the gifts were either buried with the ashes or were consumed on the funeral pyre.

According to the *Rig-Veda,* x. 18, the ancient Aryans in India laid his bow in the hands of the dead warrior on the pyre, and then took it away from him. They also laid his wife upon the pyre, and then lifted her off. This is evidently a commutation of an original burning of the bow and of the widow. In modern India offerings of food and of water are made in connection with the cremation ceremonies, and the *satī* of widows has lasted down to modern times.

The tombs at Mycenæ, Tiryns, and other ancient centres in Greece, which are perhaps pre-Aryan, were filled with food, treasures and weapons. At the cremation of Patroclus Achilles and his friends cut off their hair and laid it upon the bier.

"With sorrowful hearts they raised and laid the corse
Upon the pyre. Then they flayed and dressed
Before it many fatlings of the flock,
And oxen with curved feet and crooked horns.
From these magnanimous Achilles took
The fat, and covered with it carefully
The dead from head to foot. Beside the bier,
And leaning toward it, jars of honey and oil
He placed, and flung, with many a deep-drawn sigh,
Twelve high-necked steeds upon the pile, nine hounds
There were, which from the table of the prince
Were daily fed; of these Achilles struck
The heads from two, and laid them on the wood,
And after these, and last, twelve gallant sons
Of the brave Trojans, butchered by the sword." [37]

Pausanias, ii. 21, 7, preserves tradition of a time when it was customary for Greek wives to die with their husbands. So costly were the offerings that were deposited with the dead by the ancient Greeks that the living were impoverished, and early legislators found it necessary to check the practice by prohibitions. Early Roman codes also forbade the burial of gold with the dead.

The primitive lavishness of gifts to the dead lasted among the Celts down to a late date. Cæsar narrates: "Their funerals are magnificent and costly, considering their civilisation; and all that they think was dear to them when alive they put into the fire, even animals; and shortly before this generation the slaves and dependents that they were considered to have loved, were burned along with them in the regular performance of funeral rites." [38] Pomponius Mela confirms this testimony: "They burn and bury along with the dead whatever is of use to them when alive: business accounts and payments of debts were passed on to the next world, and there were some who of their own free will, cast themselves on the funeral piles of their relatives, expecting

[37] *Iliad*, xxiii. 166ff.
[38] *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 19.

to live along with them." [39] These customs lasted well down into Christian times, and are often mentioned in Welsh and Irish chronicles. The literary evidence is confirmed by archæology. "Over the whole Celtic area a rich profusion of grave-goods has been found, consisting of weapons, armour, chariots, utensils, ornaments, and coins. Some of the interments undoubtedly point to sacrifice of wife, children, or slaves at the grave. Male and female skeletons are often in close proximity, in one case the arm of the male encircling the neck of the female. In other cases the remains of children are found with them. Or, while the lower interment is richly provided with grave-goods, above it lie irregularly several skeletons, without grave-goods, and often with head separated from the body, pointing to decapitation, while in one case the arms had been tied behind the back." [40] In the ancient Celtic cemetery of Hallstatt 525 graves contained skeletons; and 455, ashes of the cremated. The same sorts of gifts were found in both, namely, ornaments, implements, weapons, and vessels for food and drink.

Slavic graves of the pagan period disclose the same sorts of offerings, and among the modern Slavs they have lasted with singular tenacity. Among the peasants of Lithuania and of Great Russia and White Russia, it is customary to bury with a man his pipe and tobacco, flint and steel, snuff-box and purse, pocket-knife and a little bag of copper buttons; also, if he were specially addicted to it, a bottle of *vodka*. It is not unusual for grave-diggers to find such bottles by accident when they dig in the vicinity of old graves, and they consume the contents with avidity. Women receive needles and thread, thimbles, scissors, mirrors, and toilet articles; and both sexes are provided with a clean handkerchief tucked into a pocket in the shroud. Among the Wends

[39] *Chorographia*, iii. 19.
[40] Macculloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, p. 337.

and Kashubs, Slavic tribes of Northern Germany, fruit and eggs are placed in the hands of the dead, and tobacco and liquor are deposited with the men. As late as 745 A.D. a Wendish wife was burned with her husband. The Arab historians Mas'ūdi and Ibn Fadhlān record the old Slavic custom of killing wives at their husbands' graves. As late as 931 A.D. there is record of a girl being buried with a man to accompany him into the other world.

Among the Teutons also human sacrifice at the graves of chieftains was frequent. So Brynhild says: "Make a pyre for the Hun, my husband, and for them dying with him; cover it with human blood and burn me there." Among the Norse it was customary to burn the Vikings in their ships with their horses and their slaves.

When men died unmarried, it was a primitive Aryan custom to provide them with wives for the other world. Thus the Trojan maiden Polyxene was slain at the grave of Achilles. In later times in Attica the *loutrophoros,* or bridal pitcher, was placed on the grave of the unmarried as a symbolic representation of a death-marriage. Such marriages were still prevalent among the Slavs in the time of the Arabic historians Mas'ūdi and Ibn Fadhlān. Among the modern Slavs imitation marriages are celebrated in which a bride or a bridegroom is assigned to one who has died unmarried; but these persons are, of course, no longer put to death, although it may be expected that the dead will soon claim them and they will follow their spouses. A survival of this custom is still found in Hesse in Germany, where "wreathed girls" accompany the coffins of unmarried men to the grave and wear mourning for them for four weeks.[41]

The same tendency which led to the modification of human sacrifice into symbolic rites led also to the commutation of costly gifts into inexpensive substitutes. In old Attic graves of the "dipylon period" the same offerings are found that are mentioned in Homer: jars of

[41] See O. Schrader, *Totenhochzeit,* Jena, 1904.

food and drink, bones of sacrificed bullocks, pottery, weapons, ornaments, and implements. In later graves the offerings decline steadily in extent and in value. In the sixth and the fifth centuries B.C. hardly anything but decorated vases (*lekythoi*) are found; and still later the men receive only a few vessels of small value; the women, a few ornaments; and the children, their toys. Still later wreaths of myrtle or of asphodel took the place of all other gifts. The same development took place in Rome, where the primitive costly grave-goods slowly declined until only flowers remained. This custom passed over to the Christian Church, and is the origin of the modern flowers at funerals.

3. *The Funeral-feast.*—Sacrifice to the dead necessarily involved a sacrificial meal in which the living partook of the food and so communed with the departed. Originally the feast took place at the grave, subsequently it was transferred to the house after the return of the mourners. Neolithic graves frequently show traces of such feasts in burnt coals and broken bones. In Homer a feast follows the cremation ceremonies. In later Greece, "having returned from the funeral, the members of the family undergo a religious purification, and then, crowned with wreaths, attend the funeral feast (before this they have abstained from wreaths). This also was a part of the cult of souls. The soul of the deceased was regarded as present, as their host; and dread of the invisible companion gave rise to the custom of alluding to him only eulogistically during the feast. The funeral feast was a repast for the living relatives given at the house of the dead person." [42] At Argentière, Department des Hautes Alpes, France, it was recently the custom to place a table upon the grave, at which the curé and the family dined after the funeral. In most parts of France the feast is now held at the house of the deceased. In Ille et Vilaine neither wine, cider, nor liqueur is served

[42] Rohde, *Psyche,*[4] i. 231f.

at the meal. The conversation is carried on in a low voice, and as the guests finish they retire. Among the Slavic and the Teutonic peasants of Northern Europe these feasts are still kept up with great strictness. Of these feasts among the Russians Šejn says: "All the rest of the company return (after the funeral) to the peasant's house, with the priest at their head, in order to celebrate the funeral feast. By this is meant a commemoration meal for the dead person which lasts from two to four hours." "To this day I cherish the greatest respect for this burial feast, at which rude speaking, slander, dispute, disagreement, strife, wanton jests, and everything that usually accompanies gatherings of peasants, had no place. The large gathering spoke with restraint, not raising their voices, and the conversation, whether of individuals or of the whole company, confined itself to the deceased, his actions, and the most trivial details of his life. They recalled the talk and instructions of the dead man, especially those in which the goodness of his heart shone forth." [43]

4. *Funeral Games.*—Among all the Aryans it was usual to close the funeral feast with athletic sports in honour of the dead. Thus at the funeral of Patroclus Achilles instituted chariot races, boxing, foot races and gladiatorial contests, and Æneas instituted similar games at the tumulus of Polydorus.[44] Gladiatorial games were celebrated at the funerals of distinguished Romans, and the funeral of Attila was accompanied with a *spectaculum admirandum.* It has been suggested that these contests are commutations of original human sacrifice at the grave, but this explanation hardly seems to cover all the sports or the dances that occur at the same time. A more probable view is that, like the feast, they are designed, as the Chinese say, "to give pleasure to the meritorious ancestors." [45] In modern Europe these games have degener-

[43] Hastings, *Enc. Rel. and Eth.*, ii. 20; iv. 434f.
[44] *Iliad*, xxiii. 257ff.; *Æneid*, iii. 62ff.
[45] See p. 53.

ated into fights with cabbage heads, songs, dances, masquerades, or games of cards.

f. Cult of the Dead after Burial.—1. *Sacrifices of Food.*—It was not sufficient merely to place food in the grave, supplies must be provided regularly at later times in order that the spirits might consume them. In India the *Institutes of Manu*, iii. 267-271, declare: "The ancestors of men are satisfied a whole month with sesamum, rice, barley, black lentils or vetches, water, roots, and fruit, given with prescribed ceremonies; two months with fish, three months with venison, four with mutton, five with the flesh of such birds as the twice-born may eat, six months with the flesh of kids, seven with that of spotted deer, eight with that of the deer or antelope called *Eṇa*, nine with that of the *Ruru* deer; ten months are they satisfied with the flesh of wild boars and wild buffaloes, eleven with that of hares and tortoises, a whole year with the milk of cows and food made of that milk; from the flesh of the long-eared white goat their satisfaction endures twelve years. The pot herb *Ocimum sanctum*, the prawn, the flesh of a rhinoceros or of the iron-coloured kid, honey and all such forest grains as are eaten by hermits, are formed for their satisfaction without end." According to this, while the ancestors require regular feeding, a little food goes a long way with them. This is the general view of all the Aryans. Food must not be remitted, but it may be given in small quantities at long intervals. The *Avesta* prescribes regular offerings of food to the *fravashis*, and the custom lasted in Persia well down into the Middle Ages. Odysseus sacrifices to the shades black cattle and sheep, milk and honey, wine, water and meal.[46] Black animals were regarded by the Greeks and Romans as belonging to the dark powers of the Underworld. Swine also that rooted in the ground were regarded as proper sacrifices to the chthonic deities. In later times animal sacrifices to the dead were

[46] *Odyssey*, xi. 23ff.; cf. x. 517-520.

discontinued, and only libations of milk, honey, wine, and water were made to them.

Honey appears in all parts of the Aryan world as a food sacred to the dead. It was either offered pure, or was mixed with rice or barley water to form mead. In India the *pitaras,* "tormented with hunger and making known their own sins, demand rice-soup mixed with honey from their sons and grandsons." This corresponds with the *kanunŭ,* a mead of barley water and honey, that is served to the ancestors by the peasants of White Russia. In both the Greek and the Roman cults of the dead honey appears as an essential ingredient.

Another universal article of food for the dead is little cakes or wafers. In India these appear as the *piṇḍa,* or rice balls, that are offered to the ancestors. The term *sapiṇḍa,* 'cake companion,' has come to be the technical term for one upon whom devolves the duty of ancestor-worship. In Greece the *melitoutta,* or honey cakes, were given to the dead, and were popularly believed to appease the ferocity of Kerberos, the watch-dog of Hades.[47] These cakes still survive among the Lithuanian and Russian peasants as the *klëcki,* or 'wafers,' that form an essential part of every funeral feast or commemorative banquet. "To eat wafers" is the technical expression for "celebrate funeral rites," and of a person who is so sick that his recovery is not expected they say: "He will very soon have to enjoy cakes."

Beans also were sacred to the dead in all parts of the Aryan world. This is the reason for their prohibition as ordinary food in the *Vedas.* They were a favourite offering to the dead in ancient Greece, and for this reason were forbidden to his followers by Pythagoras. Pliny says that beans are used in sacrificing to the dead because the souls of the dead are in them, and Ovid says that the witch put beans into her mouth when she tried to call up spirits. At the feast of the *Lemuria* the Roman

[47] Rohde, *Psyche,*[4] i. p. 305.

householder cast black beans behind him as an offering to the *manes,* and the Flamen Dialis was forbidden to eat, or even to mention beans, because of their connection with the shades. In modern Polish Russia we are told: "The foods at the commemoration feasts consist of beans and peas which are cooked in honey-water."

As libations for the dead we find water and milk among all the Indo-Europeans. Fermented liquors also were in universal use, the material varying according to the region. In India the *soma* was used, in Persia the corresponding *haoma,* in Greece and Italy wine, and among the Slavs and the Teutons beer, mead, and, later, distilled spirits.

Human sacrifice to the dead at other times than at burial or cremation appears among the Romans in the *devotio,* or ban, which bears a close resemblance to the Semitic *herem.*[48] In this a person is surrendered to the *di manes* in order that a victory may be won over enemies. Thus in 340 B.C., at the battle of Vesuvius, Decius the elder devoted himself to the *di manes* for death in order that the Roman army might be victorious. The same thing was done by his son Decius in 295 B.C. at the battle of Sentinum, and by his grandson Decius in 279 B.C. at the battle of Asculum.[49] Of the Celts also Cæsar records [50] that those afflicted with disease, or engaged in battle or danger, offer human victims, or vow to do so, because unless man's life be given for man's life, the divinity of the gods cannot be appeased. After a defeat, which showed the gods to be hostile, the wounded or feeble were slain, or warriors committed suicide as a voluntary sacrifice, or a general devoted himself after the manner of Decius.[51] There is little doubt that the gods to whom these sacrifices were offered were the same as the *di manes* to whom the Roman *devotio* was offered.

[48] Cf. Judges, xi. 30ff.
[49] Livy, viii. 6, 8-16; 9, 1-11.
[50] *De Bello Gallico,* vi. 16.
[51] Diodorus Siculus, xxii, 9; C. Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule,* ii. 158.

Among the Celts it was also customary to bring prisoners of war to the graves of ancient chieftains, and there behead them and suspend the heads on poles round about the tumulus.[52]

2. *Places of Sacrifice to the Dead.*—The original and most natural place of sacrifice was at the grave where the bodies or the ashes of the dead were buried. Among the Greeks and the Romans a regular cult was kept up at graves, and sacrifices and libations were offered upon them. At Tronis in Phocis a channel led down into the grave of the hero, and daily offerings of sacrificial blood and other libations were poured down it.[53] Many Greek and Roman tombs have been found containing similar tubes through which liquids may be sent down to the dead. These posthumous offerings on the grave have lasted in one form or another in all parts of Europe down to the present time. Sometimes there is nothing more than flowers or wreaths, at other times offerings of food continue to be made. The Celts of Brittany put cakes and sweetmeats on graves, and even in the great cemeteries of modern Paris one may see cakes on the graves on All Saints day. Amélineau, the Egyptologist, relates that he knew a widow at Chateaudun who placed a cup of chocolate on her husband's grave every day for over a year after his death. In Bulgaria wine and water are poured on the grave for three days after the interment. On the fortieth day a woman goes with a priest, carrying cakes and wine, and the priest digs a hole in the grave and buries the food and pours the wine upon it. On all anniversaries wine and water are poured out as libations, and widows have been known to pour libations of coffee daily into a hole in the mound when their husbands were particularly fond of this beverage. In Croatia bread, eggs, and apples are laid on the grave for a number of days after burial. Of the peasants of White Russia

[52] Macculloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, pp. 165, 234f.
[53] Pausanias, x. 4, 7.

Šejn says: "At the close of the banquet they all repair to the burying-ground, taking with them vodka, "bliny," and barley. There each family prays at the graves of its relatives for the peace of their souls. Then they eat and drink, pouring out a little vodka on the grave and throwing some morsels from each dish on it."

A ritual substitute for the grave as a place of sacrifice was the trench. In ancient India three trenches were dug, one for each of the three immediate forefathers; on these grass was scattered, and cakes were spread as an offering. In Greece sacrifices to the dead were cast into the *bothros,* or pit. Thus in the *Odyssey,* xi. 25, *et al.,* Odysseus digs such a trench before sacrificing to the shades. This method of sacrifice which was used only for chthonic deities was sharply distinguished from the ritual of sacrifice to Olympian gods. A similar institution among the Romans was the *mundus,* or sacrificial trench, which was located in the centre of every city. It bore the same relation to the *inferi* as the altar bore to the *superi.*[54]

A third seat of the cult of the dead was at the family hearth. This may have been a survival of primitive burial in the house, or it may have been due to the feeling that the spirits would naturally return to the scenes familiar to them in life. At family meals the custom was universal to scatter food and drink on the table for the ancestors, and to place the fragments that were left in jars to be consumed by them later. Bits that fell to the floor were left for the ghosts of those who had no relatives. This practice is attested in Greece by Diog. Laert. viii. 34: "Aristophanes declares that the things that drop from the table belong to the heroes, saying that the heroes get nothing except what falls from the tables"; and by Athenæus, x. 427 e, "For the departed their friends set aside the fragments of food that fall from the tables." The Celts of Brittany to the present

[54] See above p. 105.

day build up the fire and leave the fragments of their supper on the table for the souls of their relatives who come to visit them during the night. Of the Lithuanians and Prussians Menecius says: "If by chance anything falls from the table to the ground, they do not pick this up but leave it, as they say, as food for the forsaken souls who have neither relatives nor friends from whom they can receive entertainment." Similarly of the White Russians Šejn says: "If at the time of the banquet any part of the food falls on the seat or on the floor, they dare not lift it up. 'That,' they say, 'someone will eat.'" "After they have prayed at the grave, they all separate and go to their homes, where they seat themselves once more at the table, on which the wives place pancakes and mead. They throw morsels of the pancakes into the mead. Each member of the family (with the exception of the children) must invariably sup three spoonfuls of this dish. Some of this mixture they leave intentionally in a soup-bowl for the 'grandfathers.' After the pancakes they eat the other prepared courses. When they have supped and prayed to God, they lie down to sleep, placing the remains of the mixture on the window sills. The remains of the other foods they divide out into small dishes, which in the same way are placed here and there beside the window. Bread and spoons are left on the table the whole night. The doors in the peasants' rooms are not locked during this night, but are left a little ajar, so that the dead may come in." [55]

3. *Times of Sacrifice to the Dead.*—Among all the Aryans special importance is attached to the third, sixth, and ninth days after interment. The three-days interval between these commemorations corresponds to the three days that usually elapse between death and burial. Menecius records that the heathen Prussians and Lithuanians celebrated feasts for the dead on the third, sixth, and ninth day after the funeral. Šejn says of the peasants

[55] Hastings, *Enc. Rel. and Eth.*, ii. p. 27.

of White Russia: "Special feasts are celebrated, in the circle of the family and near relatives, for each individual who has died in the course of the year; and they take place at stated intervals, though not on the same days or in the same months, but on the third, sixth, ninth, twentieth, and fortieth days, reckoning from the day of the burial, during a period of six months, and periodically thereafter in the course of the year till the date of the death. These commemoration feasts take place without the co-operation or the blessing of the Church. They are a relic of primitive pre-Christian customs." These reappear in Greece as the τρίτα and ἔνατα the third and ninth days after burial, on which a meal was spread upon the grave. The belief was general among the Greeks that the restless ghosts of the unburied, those who had died untimely deaths, and the unmarried, appeared to the living on the ninth day after death, *i.e.,* the sixth after the funeral, if this had occurred.[56] In Rome also we find a celebration on the third day, and a specially important one on the ninth day, the *novendialis.*[57] The attendance of members of the family during these nine days of mourning was considered so important that military conscripts were exempted from service, and even high officials were excused from their duties. The rites ceased on the ninth day with offerings of food to the dead and a banquet, the *cena novendialis;* and in the case of the wealthy, with funeral games, the *ludi novendiales.* When these ceremonies were over the *manes* were regarded as safely domiciled in Orcus, and not likely to trouble the living by their return.

In India the nine-day celebration for the dead has been rounded off into a ten-day feast, the so-called *Ekoddishta Śraddha,* which immediately follows the cremation. At the time of the cremation libations of water are poured out to alleviate the heat and extreme thirst of the spirits

[56] Rohde, *Psyche,*[4] i. p. 232; ii. p. 392.
[57] Vergil, *Æneid,* v. 46f., 105.

whose bodies are being consumed. The first night after the cremation the nearest relatives make a cake of three handfuls of boiled rice, mixed with fruits of various sorts, honey, milk, butter, and present this to the deceased, saying, "May this first funeral cake, which shall restore thy head, be acceptable unto thee." "During ten days funeral cakes, together with libations of water and *tila,* must be offered, as on the first day, augmenting, however, the number each time, so that ten cakes, and as many libations of water and *tila* be offered on the tenth day, with this further difference, that the address varies each time. On the second day the prayer is, 'May this second cake, which shall restore thy ears, eyes, and nose, be acceptable.' On the third day, 'this third cake, which shall restore thy throat, arms, and breast.' On the fourth, 'thy navel and organs of excretion'; on the fifth, 'thy knees, legs, and feet'; on the sixth, 'all thy vitals'; on the seventh, 'all thy veins'; on the eighth, 'thy teeth, nails, and hair'; on the ninth, 'thy manly strength'; on the tenth, 'may this tenth cake, which shall fully satisfy the hunger and thirst of thy renewed body, be acceptable to thee.' " [58] During this ten-day period lights are kept burning to light the spirit on its journey to the other world. The purpose of these rites is to provide the soul with a new body that shall fit it to enter the realm of the *pitaras.* Without this it will continue to haunt its former home as an unhappy *preta.*[59] This doctrine of the "elevation of the fathers" appears as early as the *Atharva Veda.* By these masses for the repose of their souls the dead secure admission to the heaven of Yama that they could not gain in any other way.

The Iranian equivalent of these ceremonies is the *âfrîngân,* or 'homage,' which is rendered the dead after exposure. Cakes of meat and of flour are presented and priests perform ceremonies for the repose of their souls.

[58] Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches,* vii. p. 247.
[59] For similar ideas among the Egyptians see p. 166.

Friends and the poor are invited to share in the feast. This celebration has lasted among the Armenians down to the present time. Among the Teutons there are traces of sacrifice to the dead on the third and seventh days after burial.

Besides the nine-day offerings that immediately followed interment or cremation later offerings were made on fixed dates. Among the Indians, Greeks, Romans, and Teutons the thirtieth day after burial was such a time of sacrifice to the *manes*. Among the Lithuanians the thirtieth day marks the conclusion of the widow's period of mourning. Among the White Russians, Lithuanians and Prussians the twentieth and fortieth days take the place of the thirtieth as days of commemoration. Perhaps we may suppose that the primitive Aryan custom was to follow the nine days of making a new body for the deceased with a feast on the tenth day, and then every succeeding tenth day until the end of the month. After this the commemoration occurred monthly until the end of the year. The anniversary of burial (or of death) was a great occasion among all the Aryans, that was celebrated each year with offerings to the dead and a funeral feast. The observance of the birthday of the deceased was a Greek innovation.

In addition to these private family celebrations there were public, national sacred seasons of the dead. In Rome the nine *dies parentales* were observed from the thirteenth to the twenty-first of February. During these days tombs were repaired and ornamented, food was spread out for the dead, the temples of the celestial gods were closed, marriages might not be contracted, and officials laid aside their insignia of office. The ninth day was known as *Fêrâlia* (from *Dhrvêsâlia,* 'feast of ghosts') and was the holiest of all. The Greek equivalent was the *Anthesteria* festival, which also occurred in February. The name is plausibly connected etymologically with Latin *Inferi,* 'subterranean deities'; and the

primitive meaning of the feast is shown by the Greek proverb, "Out of doors! ye *kēres* (shades); it is no longer *Anthesteria.*" This shows that the *Anthesteria,* like the *Feralia,* was originally a season of public placation of ancestors.[60] The Hindu general *Śraddha* in honour of the *manes* is of similar origin. The Iranian counterpart of this celebration is the *Hamaspathmaêdaya* feast which lasts from March tenth to the twentieth.

The Roman *Lemuria* was observed on May ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth. *Lemures* equal *larvæ,* 'ghosts,' and the *Lemuria* are the days when the ghosts walk forth and need to be appeased. On these days, according to Ovid,[61] the house-father passed through the house barefooted at midnight, casting black beans behind him, and saying nine times, "These I give, and with these I redeem myself and my family." Then he clashed cymbals, and said nine times, *"Manes exite paterni,* Go forth ye spirits of my forefathers." The similarity of the formula to that used by the Greeks at the *Anthesteria* is noteworthy.

The Roman *Larentalia* was observed on the twenty-third of December. The *lares* were ancestors regarded as protecting spirits. The name is connected etymologically with *larva,* 'ghost.' The festival was a sort of All Souls' Day in which offerings were made to all the dead, particularly to those who had no relatives to provide for them. This corresponds to a general autumnal propitiation of the *manes* in India known as the *Aṣṭaka* festival. The Iranian equivalent was *Farvardîgân,* a propitiation of all the dead, that was kept on the last ten days of the year, and included the five intercalary days that were necessary to equalise the civil year of 360 days with the solar year. In the opinion of several Old Testament scholars this is the origin of the Jewish feast of Purim.[62]

[60] See Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion,* chap. ii.
[61] *Fasti,* v. 419ff.
[62] See L. B. Paton, *Esther, International Critical Commentary,* pp. 85-87, 91.

The Celtic *Samhain* feast was also held at the winter solstice. The time when vegetation lay in the sleep of death seemed most appropriate for the commemoration of spirits of the dead. Food was laid out for all the hungry spirits, and bonfires were kindled to warm them. These customs still survive in Ireland and in Brittany. The yule-log is probably a survival of the ancient fire kindled on the hearth in honour of the ancestral spirits.[63]

This All Souls' festival has survived in a peculiarly primitive form among the Slavs. It is observed in November. "At this feast the dead are invited to come forth from their mounds to a bath and a banquet. Chairs, napkins, and garments are provided for all that are summoned in a cottage that is selected for the purpose. The table is loaded with food and drink. Returning to their own houses, they celebrate a three-day banquet, after which they leave all the relics of the food and the drink at the tombs, and bid the shades farewell." "The feast is a banquet to which they invite the god Ezagulis, saying, 'Come with the dead to eat our dainties.'" "Vielona, god of the dead, to whom an oblation is then offered, they entertain with the dead. They are accustomed to give them fried cakes cut a little in four places opposite to one another. These they call 'wafers of which Vielona is very fond.'" [64] It is probable that the ancient Teutons also had a general feast of the dead at Yule-tide. These various forms of the *Larentalia* have been transformed by the Church into All Saints' and All Souls' Days, which fall on November first and second. They have been removed from the winter solstice in order to avoid conflict with Christmas. Popular superstitions about the ghosts coming forth on Halloween are survivals of ancient pagan ideas in regard to the placating of the spirits at the winter festival.

g. Prayer to the Dead.—Invocation of the ancestors

[63] Macculloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, pp. 169f.
[64] Lasicius, *De Diis Samagitarum*, pp. 48-51.

accompanied every act of homage done to them. The lament addressed to the dead is such an invocation, and formed a regular part of the mortuary ritual.[65] During the funeral ceremonies the dead man was continually addressed, and his descendants explained what they were doing for him. Thus while the body was being cremated, and the libation of water was being made, the Hindu said, "May this oblation reach thee." With each offering that was presented during the ten days that followed cremation he said, "May this be acceptable unto thee." [66]

Among all the Aryans it was customary to give the ancestors a solemn invitation to be present at the commemorative feasts in their honour. In India, after offering the *piṇḍa,* or cake, the descendant said: "May our progenitors, who eat the moon plant, who are sanctified by holy fires, come by paths which gods travel. Satisfied with ancestral food at this solemn sacrifice, may they applaud and guard us." "Ye *pitaras,* may this be savoury to your taste, may each one enjoy his share." Similarly in the Iranian cult the *fravashis* are invited to attend the feasts that are celebrated in their honour: "We invoke the souls of the dead, the *fravashis* of the righteous, the *fravashis* of all our kinsmen that have died in this house, the *fravashis* of men and women, of both sexes we invoke." [67] The same invocation existed among the pagan Lithuanians. Menecius records: "They invite the spirit of the dead man to these feasts by praying before the door." The peasants of White Russia still entreat the forefathers to be present at the memorial feasts, saying,

> "Ye sacred grandfathers, we call you;
> Ye sacred grandfathers, come to us!
> Here is all that God has given.
> Ye sacred grandfathers, we implore you,
> Come, fly to us."

[65] See p. 13.
[66] See p. 144.
[67] *Avesta, Yasna,* xxvi. 7.

While present at the feast, the ancestors were entreated to grant all sorts of material blessings to their descendants. Thus in the *Rig Veda* the *manes* are invoked: "O fathers, may the sky-people grant us life; may we follow the course of the living!" "Come hither with blessings, O fathers, may they come hither, hear us, address us and bless us. . . . Do not injure us for whatever impiety we may as men have committed!" "Homage to you, O fathers; give us a house, ye fathers!" "May we have, ye fathers, wherewith to offer you!" In the *Yashts* of the later *Avesta* there is a voluminous collection of prayers to the *fravashis* for all sorts of blessings. In Attica people prayed to the ancestors at the time of a marriage for blessings upon the young couple and the gift of children. Of the White Russians Šejn says: "On every possible occasion the peasant expresses his worshipful remembrance of his 'grandfathers.' He does so in his daily prayer, in conversation in the family and in company, as well as on the different festive occasions. There are, too, weighty considerations which compel him to regard this as his duty. He is persuaded that all good fortune on the farm and in life is produced by the continuous exertions of his ancestors, and is sustained by means of their blessings and their prayers to the Supreme Being (the latter is a modern idea)." [68]

Still another form of prayer found among all the Aryans is the request to the ancestors to depart after they have partaken of the funeral feast. In India after the presentation of the cakes the descendant says: "Depart, ye lovely *pitaras,* to your old mysterious ways, give us riches and good fortune, grant us abundant possession in men." In Greece the ancient formula was "Θύραζε, κῆρες, οὐκ ἔτ, Ἀνθεστήρια," "Be off, ye spirits, the feast of the dead is over." In Italy at the conclusion of the *Lemuria* the householder said: *"Manes exite*

[68] See above p. 141.

paterni, Depart, ye ancestral shades." Of the pagan Lithuanians Menecius records: "After the feast is over the ministrant rises from the table and sweeps the house with a broom, the souls of the dead he drives out like chickens with the dust, and he intreats them, saying, 'Beloved spirits, you have eaten and drunk, now go out of doors, go out of doors.'" Similarly the modern White Russians, at the close of the memorial banquets, politely dismiss their forefathers, saying:

> "Ye sacred grandfathers, ye have flown hither,
> Ye have eaten and drunk,
> Now fly away home again!
> Tell us, do you wish anything more?
> But better is it that you fly heavenwards.
> *Akyšŭ, Akyšŭ!*"

The last is a noise made by the peasants to drive away fowls. This curious entreaty to depart is a survival from very ancient times when the dead were more feared than loved, and when the feasts in their honour were intended rather to placate them than to cultivate fellowship with them.

Necromancy, or the calling up of the dead by magical arts in order to obtain their advice or aid or to learn the future from them, does not seem to have been a primitive Aryan institution. The early Aryans were too afraid of the dead to wish to encounter them more than was necessary. In Classical times, however, necromancy invaded the Græco-Roman world from the Semitic Orient.[69] The eleventh book of the *Odyssey,* which is commonly regarded as a late addition to the Homeric cycle, gives an elaborate account of the methods by which Odysseus called up the ghosts of Elpenor, of his mother, Anticleia, of Tiresias, the Theban seer, of Agamemnon, Achilles, and numerous other illustrious dead, who foretold the future and advised him in regard to his voyage. At all

[69] See pp. 210, 231, 256.

of the supposed entrances to the Underworld in Greek lands psychomancy, or evocation of the dead, was practised alongside of the cultivation of dream oracles. There were psychagogues also who professed to be able to call up the spirits in other places besides these sanctuaries. Euripides, *Alcestis,* 1130f., alludes to such arts. Lucian in the *Philopseudes* gives a long list of stories of necromancy.[70] These narratives bear the closest resemblance to the Babylonian evocation of the ghost of Enkidu by Gilgamesh, and to the raising of the ghost of Samuel by the Witch of Endor.

That psychomancy was not a primitive Roman institution is shown by the fact that it was regarded with strong disapproval by the Government as a menace to the well-being of the State. The worst thing that Cicero could say of Vatinius was that he practised strange foreign rites, sacrificing boys to the shades in order that he might call them up and inquire of them. Piso was accused of having buried human bodies under his house which he had sacrificed in order to bring back the dead. Others were accused of evoking the spirits by the sacrifice of a cock, or by the chanting of hymns. Horace has left a vivid description of the way in which two witches practised necromancy in a cemetery on the Esquiline. At the new moon they crept in barefoot with their robes tucked up and their hair flowing. They gathered bones and poisonous plants. They scooped a sacrificial trench in the ground with their nails, rent a black lamb in pieces with their teeth, and let the blood fall into the trench. Their cries of invocation frightened the neighbours. The ghosts then came to drink the blood and were interrogated by the witches. It is clear that we are dealing here with foreign arts of Oriental origin that found their way into Rome in the days of her decline.

[70] See Rohde, *Psyche,*[4] i. 37, 213; ii. 87, 363ff. See above p. 88.

CHAPTER V

SPIRITISM IN EGYPT

a. Sources of Information.—Our knowledge of the beliefs of the ancient Egyptians in regard to the dead is derived chiefly from archæological remains, such as tombs and temples, inscriptions and papyri. Excavations have disclosed the fact, that as early as 5000 B.C. Egypt was already inhabited by the same race that occupied it in later times, and that the main features of its civilization were already established. The Sothic astronomical cycle, marked by the heliacal rising of Sirius, was probably already instituted in the year 4241 B. C. This was eight centuries before Menes, the first king of Manetho's first dynasty. Since 1894 many remains of the predynastic period have been found in Upper Egypt, that carry us back certainly into the fifth millennium B.C.

The Thinite kings of Manetho's first and second dynasties (3400-2980 B.C.), which were formerly supposed to be mythical, are now known to be historical. Objects bearing their names have been found in various parts of Upper Egypt, their inscriptions are carved on the rocks of the traditional Sinai, and the tombs of most of them have been discovered at Abydos. The tomb of Menes, the founder of the first dynasty, was excavated by De Morgan at Naqada in 1897.[1]

The kings of dynasties III-VI (2980-2475 B.C.) have left the great pyramids, and inscriptions at the copper-mines of Mount Sinai. In the pyramids of the Vth

[1] See Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas,* 1896; *Diospolis Parva,* 1900; *Abydos,* 1902-4; De Morgan, *Ethnographie préhistorique,* pp. 142-202; Maciver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos,* 1902; Quibel, *Elkab,* 1898; *Hierakonoplis,* 1900ff.; Garstang, *Makasna and Bet Khallâf,* 1903.

and VIth dynasties are inscribed the so-called *Pyramid Texts*. These were discovered by Mariette in 1880, and were published by Maspero in 1894. A critical edition of the text by K. Sethe appeared in 1911, and a German translation by the same author has been promised.

Translations of parts of these texts by Sethe, Erman, Schäfer, and others, have appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptologie,* and by Breasted in his *Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*. These are the oldest religious texts in the world; and have come down to us, not in copies made by generations of later scribes, but in the originals, just as they were carved nearly five thousand years ago on the walls of the royal sepulchres. They deal entirely with ceremonies performed for the benefit of the dead.

From the Middle Empire of dynasties XI-XII (2160-1788 B.C.) we have the memorial stelæ at Abydos, the biographies in the tombs of Benihassan, and the royal inscriptions in Nubia, at Sinai, and in the quarries. In this period literary papyri and private documents begin to become fairly plentiful. The tombs are sumptuously constructed, and elaborately adorned with reliefs. The coffins are covered with the so-called *Coffin Texts,* which are similar to the *Pyramid Texts*. They also deal entirely with funerary ceremonies.

Under the New Empire of dynasties XVIII-XX (1580-1150 B.C.) the historical sources become more abundant. There are now extensive temple and tomb inscriptions with accompanying reliefs. Officers of the king construct elaborate tombs with reliefs, frescos and inscriptions. Papyri and private documents of all sorts are numerous. In this period it becomes customary to inscribe the walls of tombs with religious texts preparing the deceased for entrance into the other world. These compose the so-called *Book of Him Who Is in the Nether World.*[2] Besides this, papyrus rolls containing various selections of

[2] See G. Jéquier, *Le livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hades,* Paris, 1894.

funerary ritual were deposited with the dead. These form the so-called *Book of the Dead.*

From the period of Egyptian decline (1150-663 B.C.) monuments are rarer; still, they do not fail us entirely, and they are supplemented by Classical sources.

In 1822 Champollion began the decipherment of the Egyptian writing on the basis of the "Rosetta Stone," an inscription in Hieroglyphic and Demotic Egyptian and in Greek. In the century that has elapsed since that time the science of Egyptology has been so perfected that today an ordinary Egyptian text can be read with ease and certainty. An admirable English translation of the most important historical documents is given by J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (5 vols., Chicago, 1906-7). The *Book of the Dead* has been published by E. A. W. Budge, London, 1895; C. H. S. Davis, New York, 1894; and by P. Le Page Renouf, continued by E. Naville.[3]

b. Egyptian Conceptions of the Soul.—The ancient Egyptians, like so many other primitive peoples, regarded the 'breath,' *ḏu,* as the vital principle in man. Its chief seat was the heart, or the entrails. At death this separated itself from the body, and became a *ba,* or 'spirit.' The distinction between *ḏu* and *ba,* accordingly, is similar to that which we make between 'soul' and 'spirit.' The *ba* is not said to exist until after death; in fact, the deceased is said to be made a *ba* by the ceremonies that are performed at his funeral by the officiating priests. In art the *ba* was represented by a human-headed bird with

[3] The most important modern works based upon these ancient sources are: J. G. Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians,*[2] 1883; J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (1908); E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*[2] (1909); A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1897); A. Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* (London, 1907); E. Naville, *The Old Egyptian Faith* (London, 1906); G. Steindorff, *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (New York, 1905); J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1912); W. M. Flinders Petrie, article "Egyptian Religion" in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh, 1912); G. F. Moore, *History of Religions,* Chapters viii., ix. (New York, 1913); E. W. Hopkins, *The History of Religions,* Chapter xvii. (New York, 1918).

arms, holding in one hand a sail, the ideograph for 'wind,' or 'spirit,' and in the other hand the *'ankh,* or emblem of 'life.' This spirit-bird is often depicted in tombs, and on coffins and mummies, as hovering over the dead, or as perching in a tree and interestedly watching its own funeral. This conception of the *ba* has evidently close affinities with Hamitic and Semitic ideas of the disembodied spirit.[4]

Another Egyptian conception that has given rise to much discussion is the *ka,* or 'double.' Formerly this was regarded as a second ethereal soul that rose at death to the celestial regions, while the animal *ba* remained with the corpse in the grave.[5] The Egyption anthropology would then hold to a trichotomy of human nature into body, soul and spirit. More recent investigators reject this view, and hold that the *ka* was a tutelary spirit, like the Roman *genius,* who accompanied and guarded a man from birth through life and into the hereafter.[6] It was thus roughly a counterpart of the "guardian angel" of later Jewish and Christian theology. Originally apparently only kings had such guardians, but later the idea was extended to private citizens. In the temple of Luxor the infant Amenhotep III is represented accompanied by his *ka,* which is the exact counterpart of himself. The *ka,* accordingly, was conceived as the invisible, spiritual duplicate of a man that was born with him and shared his fortunes from that time onward. When he died he was said to "go to his *ka,*" or to "be with his *ka.*" The *ka* protects the dead man from enemies in the other world, introduces him to the gods, provides food for him; and in the Pyramid Texts, § 1357, he and his *ka* are represented as dining together at the same table. In ancient texts the pair of uplifted arms that form the hieroglyph for *ka* are frequently combined with the standard that bears the names of gods. This conception must

[4] See p. 201.
[5] Compare the Chinese idea, p. 88.
[6] See p. 70.

have an entirely different origin from that of the *ba,* or 'breath.' It seems to have been developed out of the 'shadow', which plays an important part in other early religions, and is possibly of aboriginal African rather than Hamitic or Semitic origin. A synonymous term for *ka* was *y'ḫw* (often vocalised as *khu*), that is 'glorious one.'[7] It appears, accordingly, that the Egyptians did not believe in a plurality of souls, but only in one soul, *ba,* that went by a variety of other names; and in one companion spirit, *ka,* that also had a number of synonymous names.

c. Survival of the Soul After Death.—The possible existence of the soul after death was a fundamental article of Egyptian belief in all ages. Only occasionally do we find some philosopher taking a sceptical attitude toward the question. Thus during the Middle Kingdom a song was composed, which must have been popular in later times, since two recensions have come down to us, one on the wall of the tomb of Neferhotep at Thebes, the other in a papyrus manuscript bearing the title: "Song which is in the house (tomb) of King Intef, the justified, which is in front of the singer with the harp." From this title the song is often called "the Song of the Harper." Parts of this read as follows:

"No one cometh from yonder
That he may describe their existence;
That he may tell their affairs,
That he may satisfy our heart;
Before we also depart
To the place whither they have gone.

. . . . . .

Increase still more thy pleasure,
Let not thy heart grow weary.
Manage thine affairs on earth
According to the wishes of thy heart,
For the day of mourning is coming for thee,
When he whose heart is still hears not the laments,

[7] Compare the Hebrew use of "glory" for "spirit," Gen. 49:6; Psa. 7:5; 16:9; 108:1.

Nor he who is in the tomb perceives the weeping.
Celebrate the glad day,
Do not cease therein.
Behold, no one taketh anything with him,
And no one returneth that hath gone thither." [8]

In similar vein an epitaph of the Greek period says: "O father, husband, relative, priest, cease not to drink, to eat, to drain the cup of pleasure and of love, and to hold joyous festival; follow thy heart day and night through all the years thou shalt spend on earth. For the West is a land of sleep and darkness, an oppressive abode for those who dwell in it. They sleep, they are motionless forms, they never wake again to look on their brethren; they know not their father or their mother; their heart yearns not for their spouses or their children." [9]

Such thoughts made no impression upon the mass of the Egyptian people. They continued to embalm their mummies, build their tombs, and make their offerings to the dead, in the confidence that the spirits still lived, and were benefited by these things.

d. Powers Retained by the Dead.—The future life, whether in the tomb, in Hades, or in Heaven, was conceived as essentially identical with the present life. The king remained a king, dwelling in his palace, ruling over his subjects, waited upon by his officials and his slaves. The noble continued to be a noble, with his broad estates, his large family, and his retinue of serfs. The head of the house still maintained his authority over his wives, children, and slaves. In the *Pyramid Texts* the king is assured that he shall not lack wives in the other world. His royal revenues shall also be paid to him promptly. His table shall lack none of the dainties to which he has been accustomed on earth. "Thy thousand of young antelopes from the highland, they come to thee with bowed head, thy thousand of bread, thy thousand of beer, thy thousand of incense that came forth from the

[8] W. M. Müller, *Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter*, pp. 29-37.
[9] E. Naville, *The Old Egyptian Faith*, p. 205.

palace hall, thy thousand of everything pleasant, thy thousand of cattle, thy thousand of everything thou eatest, on which thy desire is set, bread which cannot dry up, and beer which cannot grow stale." "Raise thee up! Arise! Sit down to thy thousand of bread, thy thousand of beer, thy thousand of oxen, thy thousand of geese, thy thousand of everything on which the god lives." [10]

In order to secure these good things in the other world they were placed with the dead in the tomb, or were sacrificed upon it, whence they were transported to Heaven by the god Thoth, by the celestial ferryman, or by Re himself in the solar barque. In later times pictures of articles placed in tombs were believed by sympathetic magic to cause their reproduction in the abode of the departed.

Even prayer for the dead was regarded as efficacious in keeping them from hunger. A form repeated on countless tombs was: "An offering which the King gives; Horus of Edfu, Osiris and Isis, may they give bread, beer, oxen, geese, everything good and pure for the *ka* of the deceased." [11] The passer-by is begged for "that breath of the mouth (prayer) which is of use to the dead, and also not difficult, even as thou desirest that thy gods shall love and reward thee, and that thou shalt bequeath thy offices to thy children, even as thou lovest life and hatest death." [12] A mortuary prayer on the tomb of Senmut, who lived under Thutmose III, reads: "The oblations in the South for the *ka* of the magnate of the South and North, Senmut. May she (Mut) give the food-offerings in the Northland to the *ka* of the greatest of the great, noblest of the noble, Senmut. May she give all that comes forth from her table in Karnak, in the temples of the gods of the South and North to the *ka* of the master of secret things in the temple, Senmut. May she give the mortuary offering of bread, beer, oxen,

[10] Breasted, *Religion*, pp. 131-2.
[11] Breasted, *Records*, ii. 111.
[12] Erman, *Religion*, p. 125.

geese; and to drink water at the living stream; to the *ka* of the chief steward of Amon, Senmut." [13]

To those who will make offerings the dead promise that they will intercede with the gods on behalf of the donors. Thus Ptahshepses, who lived under Nuserre of the Vth dynasty, says: "I have made this tomb as a just possession, and never have I taken a thing belonging to any person. Whosoever shall make offerings to me therein, I will do it for them; I will commend them to the god for it very greatly; I will do this for them, for bread, for beer, for clothing, for ointment, and for grain, in great quantity." [14] Even for prayer in their behalf the shades will show similar gratitude. Harkhuf, who lived under Mernere of the VIth dynasty, promises: "O ye living, who are upon earth, who shall pass by this tomb, whether going down-stream or going up-stream, who shall say: 'A thousand loaves, a thousand jars of beer for the owner of this tomb'; I will (intercede) for their sakes in the Nether World. I am an excellent, equipped spirit, a ritual priest, whose mouth knows." [15]

e. Powers Gained by the Dead.—In spite of all these materialistic features that have been described which made the future life resemble the present life, the ancient Egyptians, like all other early races, regarded the dead as beings akin to the gods, and therefore possessed of transcendent intelligence and might. At first the king, and subsequently all the deceased, were identified with Re and later with Osiris. They rode with him in the solar barque through the sky, descended with him into Hades during the night, and rose triumphant with him in the morning. Like the gods, they were unrestricted by conditions of space or time. Whether in the Grave, in Hades, or in Heaven, they could come at the call of their worshippers to enjoy the sacrifices that had been prepared for them. From the sepulchral chamber in the heart of

[13] Breasted, *Records*, ii. 355-6.
[14] *Ibid.*, i. 252.
[15] *Ibid.*, i. 329.

the pyramid the spirit of the Pharaoh could pass through hundreds of feet of solid masonry, through the massive false door that adorned the façade of the pyramid, and appear in the mortuary chapel to receive the homage and the offerings of the priests. In the New Empire the tombs of kings and of nobles were hidden deep in caverns in the rock, and their chapels were miles away; but this did not prevent them from coming to enjoy their cult. Even Hades and Heaven were not so remote that they could not return to earth on frequent occasions. For this reason they were spoken of as "those who go in and go out of the Nether World." They were also called the "glorious ones," the "imperishable ones," the "mighty," the "triumphant," the "victorious." The superhuman powers that they possessed were the same that we have found already in primitive religion and in the religion of China.

1. *Control of Physical Objects.*—Spirits of the dead were believed to occupy statues, just as gods were believed to occupy images. In tombs of nobles of the Old Empire the mummy was placed in a rock-hewn chamber at the bottom of a vertical shaft. The shaft was filled in with stones, and above it was built a stone or brick truncated pyramid known by the Arabic name of *mastaba,* or 'bench.' Within this was a small chapel for presenting offerings; and behind this, separated by the false door, a walled-in chamber, known in Arabic as *serdâb,* or 'cellar,' containing a portrait-statue of the deceased. He was thought to occupy the statue, and to receive through the false door the gifts that were presented to him. Occasionally a slit or hole was made in the masonry to allow the spirit egress and ingress. When later the mortuary chapel was separated from the tomb and was elaborated into a temple, the statue of the deceased was moved with it. The inscriptions contain frequent mention of the setting up of such statues in tombs and in temples. Many authors speak of these as "statues of the *ka,*"

but there is no foundation for this term either in the tomb texts or in the inscriptions placed upon these statues.[16]

Spirits of the dead were able to control these statues so as to reveal their will through them. An inscription discovered at Sakkara in 1898 relates that in the reign of Ahmose I (1580-1557 B.C.) a certain Nesha received from the king an estate which he bequeathed to his descendants, stipulating that it should not be divided. In the reign of Ramses II, three hundred years later, the courts permitted the division of the estate; but Pasar, son of Mesmen, appealed the case to the statue of the deified Ahmose as it was being carried in procession, and the statue by nodding confirmed his claim to the estate.[17] Similar accounts are given of gods controlling their statues. Thus in the time of Ramses II the prince of Bekhten in Mesopotamia had given his daughter in marriage to the Pharaoh. When her sister fell ill, he requested that the miracle-working statue of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker might be sent to heal her. The king submitted the matter to the decision of two images of Khonsu. "Then they led Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest to Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker, the great god, smiting the evil spirits. Then said his majesty before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest: 'O thou good lord, if thou inclinest thy face to Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker, the great god, smiting the evil sprits, he shall be conveyed to Bekhten.' There was a violent nodding. Then said his majesty: 'Send thy protection with him, that I may cause his majesty (the idol) to go to Bekhten, to save the daughter of the prince of Bekhten.'" This nodding image of Khonsu is mentioned again by Hrihor of the XXIst dynasty. A nodding image of Amon is mentioned by Merneptah of the XIXth dynasty, by Hrihor of the XXIst dynasty, and by Menkheperre of the XXIst

[16] See G. Steindorff, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 48, 152-9.
[17] A. Moret, in *Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, 1917, pp. 157-165.

dynasty.[18] If spirits could do such things as this, it is probable that they possessed in Egypt all the powers of levitation and of control that they manifested elsewhere, although we have no explicit records to this effect.

2. *Control of Animals.*—The ancient belief that spirits of the dead entered into animals, particularly those that prowled about tombs, existed also in Egypt. The *Coffin Texts* of the Middle Empire already contain magical formulas by which the deceased may transform himself into certain birds or animals. These charms are greatly amplified in the texts of the New Empire which constitute the so-called *Book of the Dead.* Thus in the recension of the *Book of the Dead* found in the Papyrus of Ani, edited by Budge, chapter lxvii treats of "changing into a golden hawk"; lxxvii, "changing into a divine hawk"; lxxxi, "changing into a lotus"; lxxxiii, "changing into a *bennu* bird"; lxxxiv, "changing into a heron"; lxxxvi, "changing into a swallow"; lxxxviii, "changing into a crocodile." In another recension the dead man becomes a serpent by saying: "I am the serpent whose years are long. I lie down and am born every day. I am the serpent at the ends of the earth. I lie down, then I am born, I am re-established, I grow young every day."

This is the basis on which Herodotus[19] asserts: "The Egyptians were the first to broach the opinion that the soul of man is immortal, and that, when the body dies, it enters into the form of an animal which is born at the moment, thence passing on from one animal into another, until it has circled through all the forms of all the creatures which tenant the earth, the water, and the air, after which it enters again into a human frame, and is born anew. The whole period of the transmigration is, they say, three thousand years. There are Greek writers, some of an earlier, some of a later date, who have borrowed this doctrine from the Egyptians,

[18] Breasted, *Records,* iii. 440, 444, 580; iv. 615, 617, 655-6, 658.
[19] II. 123.

and put it forward as their own." This opinion is not sustained by the evidence of the Egyptian monuments. These show something far simpler than the philosophic doctrine of transmigration. The Egyptian idea is the same that we find among all ancient races and among modern savages, that the discarnate spirit can enter temporarily into the bodies of animals. Out of this primitive zoömorphism the doctrine of transmigration, as a means of explaining the problem of evil and of securing retribution, was evolved in India, whence it travelled to Greek thinkers such as Pythagoras and Plato.[20]

3. *Re-animation of Dead Bodies.*—The belief in a possible resurrection of the flesh that we found in China[21] has not certainly been discovered in Egypt. The spirit inhabits the mummy, and it is most important for the welfare and peace of the soul that its body be preserved, but it does not revive the body. The Egyptian doctrine of resurrection was apparently a resurrection of the spirit from the sleep of death rather than a resurrection of the flesh. It was akin to Paul's conception of resurrection in I Corinthians, 15:35 *sq.*: "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. . . . Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption." [22] No case of physical resurrection is recorded in any Egyptian text, nor is a future resurrection of the body anticipated. Several competent scholars, however, think differently on this matter, and hold that such passages from the *Pyramid Texts* as are quoted below under *f*, which call upon the Pharaoh to arise and receive his food, refer to a literal resurrection of the flesh. The idea of rebirth in a new body, which is found in so many other parts of the world, is also wanting in Egypt.

4. *Obsession of Living Men.*—The dead were believed to be envious of the living, and therefore to enter

[20] See p. 99f.
[21] See p. 26.
[22] See p. 296.

into the bodies of men causing disease and death. In the *Book of the Dead* (ed. Naville, 92, 10) the gods are adjured to "shut up the shadows of the dead, and the dead who work evil to us." An officer who had lost his wife, and who had fallen ill soon afterwards, was told by a soothsayer that his wife was lonely without him, and that she was trying to kill him. Accordingly he wrote a letter to her, which he deposited in her grave: "What evil have I ever done thee that I am now in such misery? What have I done to thee that now thou layest hands upon me? From the time that I became thy husband, up to this day, have I ever done aught that I would have hidden from thee? . . . When I was appointed to all manner of offices, I was still by thy side, I left thee not, and brought no grief into thy heart. . . . When thou didst sicken with the sickness which thou hast suffered, I went to the chief physician; he prepared medicines for thee, and did all that thou didst desire of him. (After thy death) I besought Pharaoh and came hither to thee and mourned thee greatly with my people before my house." [23] The princess of Bekhten mentioned above, who was cured by the image of Khonsu, was obsessed by an evil spirit, probably of the dead, although this is not expressly stated. A series of exorcisms used by mothers to drive malignant ghosts away from their children has come down to us. One of these reads as follows:

"Run out, thou who comest in darkness, who enterest in stealth,
His nose behind him, his face turned backward, who loseth that for which he came.
Run out, thou who comest in darkness, who enterest in stealth,
Her nose behind her, her face turned backward, who loseth that for which she came.
Comest thou to kiss this child? I will not let thee kiss him.
Comest thou to soothe him? I will not let thee soothe him.
Comest thou to harm him? I will not let thee harm him.
Comest thou to take him away? I will not let thee take him away.

[23] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 151f.

I have made his protection against thee out of *efet*-herb which hurts,
Out of onions which harm thee;
Out of honey which is sweet to (living) men, and bitter to those who are yonder;
Out of the evil (parts) of the *ebdu*-fish, out of the jaw of the *meret*,
Out of the backbone of the perch." [24]

The reference to honey as "bitter to those who are yonder" shows that the evil spirits who are dreaded are those of the dead.

5. *Possession of Living Men.*—The same princess of Bekhten who was obsessed by an evil spirit also spoke under the influence of this spirit. "Then said this spirit which was in her before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, 'Thou comest in peace, thou great god, smiting the barbarians. Bekhten is thy city, its people are thy servants, I am thy servant. I will go to the place whence I came to satisfy thy heart concerning that on account of which thou comest. Let thy majesty command to celebrate a feast-day with me and with the chief of Bekhten.'" This indicates that spirits of the dead controlled mediums, just as the gods inspired prophets. Unfortunately our information on this subject is not so complete as we could wish.

f. The Abode of the Dead.—1. *The Grave.*—In no land was the disembodied spirit associated more closely with the corpse than in Egypt. It was believed that the *ba* constantly returned to the body as its proper dwelling-place; and that if the body perished, the soul would eventually perish also. Hence the mummification of corpses in order to preserve them, hence also pyramids and secret tombs to guard them from molestation or destruction. In case that any accident happened to the mummy, statues of the deceased were placed in the tomb in order that the soul might occupy one of these. The inscriptions on tombs frequently contain curses upon

[24] Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, Berlin, 1901, p. 12f.

anyone who shall violate them. Thus Harkhuf, who flourished under Mernere of the VIth dynasty, says: "As for any man who shall enter into this tomb as his mortuary possession, I will seize him like a wild fowl; he shall be judged for it by the great god." [25] The restoration of mummies was a pious act that was frequently undertaken by later generations. Thus under Ramses XII of the XXth dynasty Hrihor, the high priest of Amon, restored the mummies of Ramses II and of Seti I that had been damaged by tomb-robbers, and left a record of this fact on their coffins. Paynozen I of the XXIst dynasty also accumulated much merit by repairing the damaged mummies of his predecessors.[26]

The soul was believed to share in the unconsciousness of the body produced by death, and from this it must be roused by magical ceremonies before it could enter upon its new existence. The *Pyramid Texts* contain numerous incantations, doubtless recited by the priests, that are intended to rouse the spirit from the sleep of death. "Ho, King Unis! Thou hast not departed dead, thou hast departed living"; "Thou hast departed that thou mightest live, thou hast not departed that thou mightest die"; "Thy bones perish not, thy flesh sickens not, thy members are not distant from thee"; "Raise thee up, King Pepi, receive to thee thy water, gather to thee thy bones, stand thou upon thy two feet, being a glorious one before the glorious. Raise thee up for this thy bread which cannot dry up, and thy beer which cannot become stale." [27] Here we have a process of resurrection that takes place immediately after death, and that is effected through the sacramental activities of the survivors. This is what is called "making a man a *ba*." If these ceremonies are neglected, the presumption is that the soul will not survive the catastrophe of death, and will not return to occupy its mummy. These rites are apparently an

[25] Breasted, *Records*, i. 330.
[26] *Ibid.*, iv. 592-4; 634-47.
[27] See Breasted, *Religion*, pp. 57, 58, 91.

evolution out of ancient efforts to recall the soul at the moment of death.

The most primitive belief in Egypt, as in other lands, was that spirits of the dead inhabited their tombs. This was an inevitable inference from the close connection between the *ba* and the mummy. For this reason tombs of the wealthy were constructed like houses, and were filled with all good things that the deceased had used in life. Even the poor were not buried without food, drink, clothing, ornaments and tools. The tomb was known as the "eternal house," as in the Phœnician inscriptions and in Ecclesiastes 12:5. A certain Zau, son of Zau, who flourished under Pepi II of the VIth dynasty, records in his inscription: "Now, I caused that I should be buried in the same tomb with this Zau, in order that I might be with him in one place; not, however, because I was not in a position to make a second tomb; but I did this in order that I might see this Zau every day, in order that I might be with him in one place."[28] The prosperous saw to it that tombs were constructed for themselves during their lifetimes; and if they failed to complete the task, this was a solemn responsibility that rested upon their sons. In order to secure maintenance of their tombs and regular presentation of the necessary offerings of food and drink, the rich were accustomed to leave endowments in perpetuity. As early as the IVth dynasty we find deeds recorded on the walls of tombs conveying lands and whole villages of serfs to certain guilds of priests on condition that they keep up the cult of the donor on certain specified days. Such mortuary endowments were often accompanied with curses upon the person who should presume to violate the conditions of the trust. Thus the deed of Amenhotep III of the XVIIIth dynasty concludes with the words: "As for the general and scribe of the army who shall follow after me and shall find the *ka*-chapel beginning to decay,

[28] *Records*, i. 383.

together with the male and female slaves who are cultivating the field for my endowment, and shall take away a man therefrom in order to put him to any business of Pharaoh, L. P. H., or any commission, may his body be accursed." To similar effect Seti I of the XIXth dynasty says: "As for anyone who shall avert the face from the command of Osiris, Osiris shall pursue him, Isis shall pursue his wife, Horus shall pursue his children, among all the princes of the necropolis, and they shall execute their judgment with him." [29]

The aim was to make these endowments perpetual, and to care for the tomb, the mummy, and the mortuary offerings, as long as the world should endure; of course, this hope was not realized. Endowments were usually respected as long as the dynasty lasted under which they were made, but when a new dynasty came to the throne they were confiscated and the tombs were neglected. There were, however, cases in which the trusts were kept. The dark period of civil strife and decline that intervened between the Old Kingdom and the Middle Kingdom obliterated ancient trusts. When Egypt once more rose to glory under the XIth dynasty (2160 B. C.), the tombs of the first kings at Abydos and the pyramids of the later kings were already in ruins. The endowments had lapsed, the priests had departed, and the offerings to the dead had ceased. A thousand years had elapsed since the first of the great pyramids had been built, and five hundred years since the last one, and this had been sufficient to reduce them to a desolation similar to that which they present today. The futility of these efforts to secure a physical immortality impressed itself even upon poets who lived four thousand years ago. In the so-called "Song of the Harper" the bard laments:

> "The gods who were of old,
> Who rest in their tombs,
> The mummies and the shades together,

[29] *Records*, ii. 925; iii. 194.

Interred in their tombs,
Who built their sanctuaries,
Their place is no more.
What is it that has been done to them?
I have heard the words of Imhotep and of Hardedef,
Who were famous for their utterances.
What has becomes of their places?
Their walls are torn down,
Their place is no more,
As though they had never been." [30]

Imhotep was the architect of the stepped pyramid of Zoser of the IIId dynasty, and Hardedef was the son of Khufu (Cheops), the builder of the Great Pyramid. The tombs of these famous men had already disappeared 2000 B.C.

Numerous attempts were made by pious persons to repair certain tombs. Thus a certain Intef, prince of Hermonthis, during the Middle Kingdom boasts: "I found the chamber of offerings of the prince Nekhti-oker fallen down, its walls were old, all its statues were broken, there was no one who heeded it. Thus it was rebuilt, its site was enlarged, its statues were renewed, and its door built of stone, so that his place surpassed that of other noble princes." Such sporadic efforts were useless, however, to check the ravages of time.

2. *The Dead Dwell in an Underworld.*—This was the teaching of the religion of the god Osiris which developed in pre-dynastic times in the Delta. Its original seat was Dedu, in Greek times known as Busiris. Before the union of Upper and Lower Egypt under the rule of Menes (3400 B.C.) it had already spread into the hostile southern kingdom, and had established itself at Siut, and then at Abydos which subsequently became its chief centre.

The Osirian religion taught that there was an Underworld, into which the sun descended through the gate of

[30] W. M. Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter,* Leipzig, 1899, p. 29.

the West, which he traversed during the night, and from which he emerged in the East in the morning. This was the abode of spirits of the dead. The belief is identical with the Babylonian conception of *Aralu* (see chapter vii), and with the Hebrew conception of *Sheôl* (see chapter ix), and it is possible that its appearance in Egypt may be due to Semitic influence. Similar beliefs, however, have arisen independently in other parts of the world, so that it may be a purely Egyptian development.

This region was known as *Earu,* 'the Field of Rushes.' It was a counterpart of the Delta with its numerous canals and reedy swamps. Here the dead tilled the soil, as in life, and the wheat grew higher than their heads. Another name was *Amenti,* 'the West.' Its inhabitants were known as "Westerners," or "Children of the West." To "go West" was a euphemism for death, a phrase that has had a strange revival during the recent World-War. Still another name was *Dewat,* the 'Nether World.' It was pictured as a subterranean counterpart to Egypt, with the river Nile flowing through the midst, and cliffs on either side in whose caverns the shades dwelt as they dwelt in their tombs on either side of the terrestrial Nile. In the daytime this is a land of darkness and desolation; but at night, when the sun descends into this world, "the departed, who are in their halls, in their caverns, praise the sun, their eyes are opened, their heart is full of felicity when they behold the sun; they shout for joy when his body is over them."

In order to reach the gate of the West through which the sun and the spirits of the dead entered the Nether World it was necessary to cross the sea. In order to pass this there was need of the ferryman "Look Behind," or "Face Backward," so called because he poled his barge facing backward like a Nile boatman.[31] With reference

[31] Compare the Babylonian conception p. 217, and Charon's ferry across the Styx.

to this voyage "landing" and "mooring" were used as euphemisms for death.

The ruler of the Underworld was Osiris, who bore the title Khenti-Amentiu, "First of the Westerners." He was a personification of the reproductive energy of nature that showed itself in the annual overflow of the Nile, in the fertile soil that it deposited, and in the vegetation that grew upon the soil. He died annually with the ripening of the crops in summer, and came to life again with the inundation of the autumn. The myth of Osiris has come down to us completely only in the late Greek form preserved by Plutarch in his treatise *De Iside et Osiride,* but nearly all the elements of this story can be traced back as far as the *Pyramid Texts.* In ancient times he reigned righteously and peacefully over the land of Egypt, he taught the people agriculture, and gave them laws and civilization. He was slain by his wicked brother Set, and cast into the waters of the overflowing Nile, where he drifted, according to Plutarch, as far as Byblos (Gebal) in Phœnicia. His sister-wife Isis and his sister Nephthys searched for him throughout the world, until at last they found him, mourned over him, and embalmed him. He was laid in a tomb in Abydos, and a sycamore tree grew and enclosed his body. Then through intercourse with his mummy, according to the oldest version of the story in the *Pyramid Texts,* Isis conceived and brought forth Horus, a personification of the Sun, who through his radiance awakens the dead vegetation to new life. When Horus grew up, he fought with Set to avenge his father's death. He lost an eye in the conflict, but finally overthrew his foe. By means of his torn-out eye he roused the spirit of his father, and made him a *ba.* Set was then tried before a tribunal of the gods, and was convicted, while Osiris was vindicated. As a reward of his virtue he received the sovereignty of the Underworld. "He entered the secret gates in the splendid

precincts of the lords of eternity, at the going down of him who rises in the horizon, upon the ways of Re in the Great Seat." [32]

Osiris was thus a prototype of the experience of every mortal. He was the "first born from the dead." Following his example, men also might hope to attain to the spirit-life that he enjoyed in Hades. If the same rites were performed for them that were performed for him, the same magic words uttered, the same funereal ceremonies observed, they would be as efficacious as they had been in his case. Osiris thus became pre-eminently the god of the dead; and the human elements of his cult, his death, the mourning of his wife and his sister, the self-sacrifice and filial devotion of his son, and his resurrection, appealed so strongly to the imagination, that already in pre-dynastic times he became the favourite god of the common people throughout the whole of Egypt. In process of time the worshipper was identified so completely with the god that his disembodied spirit was addressed as Osiris. Through the proper sacramental rites he had become one with Osiris, and shared in all his post-mortem experiences. This conception of the existence of the dead in the Nether World is irreconcilable with the more ancient belief that they live in the tomb, but both beliefs flourished side by side throughout the whole course of Egyptian history.

3. *The Dead Live in the Sky.*—This was the doctrine of the Solar theology that had its chief centre at Heliopolis. Here the sun-god Re was the supreme divinity. As early as the IVth dynasty his name appears as an element in the names of the kings Dedef-Re, Khaf-Re, Menku-Re. The pyramid was his sacred emblem, and the tombs of the kings of this dynasty were, therefore, pyramidal in form. From the Vth dynasty onward the Pharaohs assumed the title "Son of Re," and claimed

[32] For the later forms of the myth of Osiris and for its Oriental parallels see J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris,* London, 1907.

to be physically descended from the sun-god. For persons of this celestial origin an abode in the Underworld was inappropriate, hence the priests of Heliopolis developed the doctrine that the deceased monarch did not enter the gloomy realm of Osiris, but joined his father Re in the sky. This is the message of the *Pyramid Texts*. The pyramid is adjured not to admit Osiris or any of his company when they come "with an evil coming." To the dead king it is said: "Thou lookest down upon Osiris commanding the glorious dead. There thou standest, being far from him; for thou art not of them (the dead), thou belongest not among them." "Re has freed King Teti from Kherti, he has not given him to Osiris." In this theology the basis of the hope of resurrection is not the revival of vegetation, as in the Osirian system, but is the daily rising again of the sun from the death into which he sinks during the night. "This King Pepi lives as lives Re, who has entered the west of the sky, when he rises in the east of the sky." The home of the soul is no longer in the west where the sun goes down, as in the Osirian theology, but in the east where the sun rises.

In order to reach the abode of Re the deceased monarch has to be ferried across the "Lily Lake" *eastward,* just as those who go down to *Dewat* have to be ferried *westward*. In case that the ferryman is unwilling to carry him over, the king is provided by the *Pyramid Texts* with all sorts of arguments and charms to compel him; or if these are unsuccessful, he may cross on a prehistoric catamaran, or may fly over like a wild goose. Arrived on the eastern side, he finds the ladder on which the sun-god climbs up from the horizon to the zenith. Up this he ascends, supported on the arms of assisting gods. At the zenith he finds the palace of his father Re, whose gates open wide before him. Heralds announce his coming, and he is admitted to the fellowship of his heavenly father. He becomes mystically one

with Re, so that he himself is addressed as Re, and shares in all the sun-god's experiences.

In the *Pyramid Texts* the solar hereafter is limited to the king who has the blood of Re in his veins. The descriptions of his beatification are found only in the royal pyramids. The nobles of the Old Empire made no use of these texts in their tombs. In the Middle Empire, however, other persons besides the monarch began to employ these liturgies, and the hope of a solar immortality eventually became the possession of all Egyptians.

These three heterogeneous and irreconcilable conceptions of the future life, that it was spent in the Grave, in the Underworld, and in the Sky, lasted side by side down to the latest times, and mingled with one another in the mortuary texts in the wildest confusion. Even as early as the *Pyramid Texts* Osirian elements intruded themselves into the Heliopolitan doctrine of the Solar hereafter of the Pharaoh. The dead monarch is addressed as "Osiris, lord of *Dewat*." At the beginning of sections he is called Osiris, King Unis, Osiris, King Pepi, *etc.*, although in the body of the utterances there is no mention of Osiris or of his realm, but the contents are entirely Solar. Some passages are found in the earliest pyramids that are purely Solar, but in later pyramids they have been Osirianised. Evidently the king wished to take no chances in the future life. If any benefit was to be derived from the Osirian ritual, he wished to enjoy it in conjunction with that received from the Solar ritual. The *Pyramid Texts* show as a whole the Solar theology with a strong tincture of the Osirian. The *Coffin Texts* of the Middle Empire, and the *Book of the Dead* of the New Empire, on the contrary, show a fundamentally Osirian doctrine with the intrusion of numerous Solar elements. The one point of contact between the two systems is that the sun goes down into the Underworld at night. On this small foundation rest all the attempts that are made to combine theoretically the

Solar and the Osirian eschatologies. The primitive doctrine that the soul remains with the body in the tomb persists both in the Solar and in the Osirian faiths and in all combinations of the two. The only attempts at harmonization are the picturing of the future life, whether in Heaven or in Hades, in terms of the existence of the mummy in the tomb. Order is never introduced into the confusion, but the picture of the future life remains to the end a wild, unorganized phantasmagoria.

g. Deification of the Dead.—From the earliest times the Egyptian kings were deified during their lifetimes. In no country of the world did emperor-worship attain such a magnificent and consistent development as in Egypt. The cults of living kings in Babylonia, among the Greeks in the Seleucid period, and in Rome, were but feeble imitations of the Egyptian model. Already in the Old Empire the King was regarded as the physical off-spring of the sun-god. The only distinction between him and the other gods was that they were called "great god," while he was called "good god." The noble of the period spoke of himself as "beloved of his god," meaning the Pharaoh. The king was regarded as an incarnation of the sun-god on earth. His palace was called the "horizon," when he appeared in public he was said to "rise," and when he died he was said to "set"; but he had no temples dedicated to him, and received no sacrifices at the hands of priests, at least in the early period.

In foreign countries, however, that were conquered by Egypt, such as Nubia and Syria, temples were built to him alongside of his father Re, and a regular sacrificial cult was kept up. In the famous Tell el-Amarna letters, that were written by kings in Canaan to the Egyptian kings Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV about 1400 B.C., we learn that the image of the Pharaoh was set up in certain cities together with that of Amon-Re; and that on stated occasions the Syrian princes were required

to pay homage to it. The writers of these letters address the king as "my lord, the lord of the lands, my father, my sun, the sun of heaven, the sun of the lands, my god, the breath of my life." The worship of the king seems to have consisted chiefly in the burning of incense; hence when a beleaguered town wished to surrender, it signified this by holding up a lighted censer on its battlements.[33]

These deified monarchs naturally remained deities after death, and even rose to the higher rank of "great god" by becoming one with Re or Osiris. The cult of ancient kings is mentioned repeatedly in the inscriptions of their successors. A text of Sesostris III of the XIIth dynasty at Mount Sinai reads: "Ameni, favourite of Hathor, mistress of the malachite country, of Soped, lord of the East, of Snefru, lord of the highlands, and of the gods and goddesses who are in this land." Here King Snefru of the IIId dynasty, one of the earliest monarchs to mine copper at Sinai, is regarded as a god of the region on an equal footing with Hathor and Soped. He appears in the same capacity in an inscription of Amenemhet III of the XIIth dynasty.[34]

Besides the kings, ancient worthies who were distinguished for their wisdom or for their virtue were deified by posterity. Among these was Imhotep, the architect of King Zoser of the IIId dynasty, who was famous also as a physician. His tomb near the step-pyramid of his royal master at Sakkara was early visited by the sick who sought healing from him. In Greek times a temple was built on this site, and a complete cult was instituted in honour of the sage. The priests regarded him as a son of Ptah, and the Greeks identified him with Asklepios, their god of healing. His worship spread over all Egypt, even as far as the island of Philæ on the Nubian frontier.[35] Another deified hero was Amenhotep, son of Hapi, who flourished under Amenhotep III of

[33] See Breasted, *Records*, ii. 893-8; iii. 173, 502, 504.
[34] *Ibid.*, i. 722.
[35] See K. Sethe, *Imhotep der Asklepios der Aegypter*, Leipzig, 1902.

the XVIIIth dynasty. He was a descendant of the ancient nomarchs of Athribis, and held the office of chief prophet of that district. He filled high positions under the king and left a number of mortuary inscriptions. He lived over eighty years, and became so famous for his wisdom that an inscription on the temple of Der el-Medineh at Thebes says of him: "His name shall abide forever, his sayings shall not perish." In the time of the Greek king Ptolemy Euergetes II he was worshipped as a god, and the Egyptian historian Manetho, as quoted by Josephus,[36] says of him: "He seemed to partake of a divine nature, both as to wisdom and knowledge of the future." In the case of both these heroes the first clear evidence of their worship comes from the Greek period, still this was probably only a survival of ancient custom.[37]

Even ordinary mortals in course of time came to be identified with Osiris or with Re at death, and therefore were entitled to divine homage at least on the part of their descendants. Children and children's children unto the third and fourth generation felt it incumbent upon them to care for the tombs and to keep up the offerings to the forefathers. The princes of Hermopolis under the XIIth dynasty restored the tombs of ancestors who had lived six hundred years earlier, and recorded their filial piety as follows: "He made it as a monument for his fathers, who are in the necropolis, the lords of the promontory; restoring what was found in ruin and renewing what was found decayed, the ancestors who were before not having done it." [38] Ancestor-homage never attained the proportions in Egypt that it did in China because it was overshadowed by the cult of the great gods, still it held its own as an important part of the national religion down to the latest times. The rites

[36] *Against Apion*, i. 26.
[37] See Breasted, *Records*, ii. 911-927.
[38] *Ibid.*, i. 689.

that are described in the following paragraphs are evidence of the deification of the dead.

h. Preparation of the Corpse for Burial.—Recent excavations have shown that in the pre-dynastic period the Egyptians took no such elaborate care of the bodies of the dead as was the custom in later times. They were usually buried without covering or coffin, rarely with a skin or linen wrapping. They were placed in the so-called "embryonic" position, with the knees drawn up closely under the chin, lying on the right side, with the head turned toward the north, and the face toward the east, the region of the rising sun.

This lasted under the Thinite kings of the first two dynasties, but under the pyramid-builders of the Old Kingdom the practice of embalming came into general use. The entrails were removed, and were placed in four so-called "canopic" jars, whose covers were respectively the head of a man, of an ape, of a jackal, and of a hawk, representing four genii, the children of Horus, who guarded the dead. The body was soaked in salt water, and was dipped in bitumen. The abdominal cavity was stuffed with cloths saturated with various preservative substances. The body was then wrapped in numerous bandages, and the process of mummification was complete. Embalming varied all the way from the simplest pickling in the case of the poor to the long and expensive treatment that was bestowed upon kings and nobles. Sebni, a noble who lived under Pepi II of the VIth dynasty (*c.* 2500 B.C.), records how his father, Mekhu, perished in an expedition against Nubia; how he set out with troops and with one hundred asses loaded with gifts in order to secure his father's body for embalmment. He succeeded in pacifying the country and in rescuing the body. As he was coming down the river, he was met by an official who brought "embalmers, the chief ritual priest, . . . the mourners and all offerings of the White House. He brought festival oil from the double

White House, and secret things from the double *w'bt* house, . . . from the *'h'* house, clothing of the double White House, and all the burial equipment which is issued from the court, like the issuance for the hereditary prince, Meru." [39] It was the custom of the kings to make gifts for embalming to deserving subjects. A certain Zau records that at the death of his father Pepi II "bestowed a coffin, clothing, and festival perfume for this Zau. His majesty caused that the custodian of the royal domain should bring a coffin of wood, festival perfume, *sft*-oil, two hundred pieces of prime linen, and of fine southern linen, taken from the double White House of the court for this Zau."[40]

From this time onward embalming continued to be the custom until the triumph of Christianity in Egypt. Mummies are frequently mentioned in the inscriptions, and the Old Testament narrates how the bodies of Jacob and of Joseph were embalmed in Egypt in order that they might be carried to Canaan.[41]

Thousands of mummies of kings, of nobles, and of private citizens of all periods have lasted down to the present time, and are preserved in the museums of Egypt, Europe, and America. During the unsettled period of the XXIst dynasty when the decline of Egypt had begun, the authorities were no longer able to protect the tombs of the ancient Pharaohs, and they were frequently rifled. To prevent further desecration the mummies of the great kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties were removed from their resting places, and were secreted in a rocky cleft near Dêr el-Baḥri. Here they were discovered in 1871 by modern tomb-robbers, who managed to keep their secret from the Government until 1881, when they were tracked, and the royal mummies were discovered and placed in the museum at Cairo. Here one may now look upon the face of Thutmose III,

[39] Breasted, *Records*, i. 370
[40] *Ibid.*, i. 382.
[41] Genesis, 50:1-3, 13, 26; Ex. 13:19; Josh. 24:32.

the Asiatic conqueror (1500 B.C.); Thutmose IV, his grandson; Seti I, of the XIXth dynasty; Ramses II, his son, the Pharaoh who oppressed the children of Israel.

At the various times when these mummies were transferred from one hiding-place to another, inscriptions were placed upon them by the later kings who attended to the business. Thus the mummies of Ahmose I, Amenhotep I, Thutmose II, Seti I, Ramses II, and Ramses III all bear dockets of Paynozem I, Menkhepperre, or Paynozem II of the XXIst dynasty.[42]

Enclosed in the wrappings of the mummies was the most costly jewelry. Specimens that have been recovered from the Middle Kingdom show an excellence of workmanship that has scarcely been surpassed in modern times. Among the treasures of the Cairo Museum are the ornaments of the princess Sit-Hathor (XIIth dynasty), princess Khnumet, and princess Ita. The largest and most extraordinary collection was found with the mummy of Queen Aḥḥotep, the mother of Ahmose I.[43] The confession of a tomb-robber under the XXth dynasty states: "We found the august mummy of this king. . . . . There was a numerous list of amulets and ornaments of gold at its throat; its head had a mask of gold upon it; the august mummy of this king was overlaid with gold throughout. Its coverings were wrought with gold and silver, within and without; inlaid with every splendid costly stone. We stripped off the gold which we found on the august mummy of this god, and its amulets and ornaments which were at its throat, and the coverings wherein it rested."

Herodotus, ii. 86-88, gives an elaborate account of embalming as it was practised in Egypt in his day (484-424 B.C.). He says that there was a professional class of embalmers who prepared first, second, or third class mummies according to the price paid. "The mode

[42] Breasted, *Records*, iv. 637-642, 644-647, 663-668.
[43] Baedeker, *Egypt*,[5] pp. 82-83.

of embalming according to the most perfect process is the following:—They take first a crooked piece of iron, and with it draw out the brain through the nostrils, thus getting rid of a portion, while the skull is cleared of the rest by rinsing with drugs; next they make a cut along the flank with a sharp Ethiopian stone, and take out the whole contents of the abdomen, which they then cleanse, washing it thoroughly with palm-wine, and again frequently with an infusion of pounded aromatics. After this they fill the cavity with the purest bruised myrrh, with cassia, and every other sort of spicery except frankincense, and sew up the opening. Then the body is placed in natrum for seventy days and covered entirely over. After the expiration of that space of time, which must not be exceeded, the body is washed, and wrapped round from head to foot with bandages of fine linen cloth smeared over with gum, which is used generally by the Egyptians in the place of glue. . . . Such is the most costly way of embalming the dead." He then goes on to describe the second and the third class methods of embalmment. In all probability this method had been transmitted with punctilious exactness from high antiquity. The processes of manufacturing and of transporting mummies as depicted in the reliefs on the tombs may be seen in Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians,* vol. iii. chap. xvi.

The process of mummification was accompanied at every point with recitation of ritual texts for the benefit of the spirit of the deceased. Inscriptions of the Old Kingdom mention along with the embalmers the chief ritual priest and two subordinate classes of religious functionaries whose duties are not clearly understood. The ritual of embalming has come down to us only in a late form. Apparently the priests impersonated the gods who embalmed the body of Osiris, and the texts recited affirmed the identity of the departed with Osiris.

In the Old Kingdom it was customary to enclose the

mummy in a wooden coffin within a stone sarcophagus. This was generally a simple polished chest with a flat cover; or else, probably in imitation of the coffin of Osiris, it had four corner posts and a dome-shaped cover. Sometimes it was decorated to represent a tomb of the earliest period with a number of doors. Opposite the face of the mummy a pair of eyes was often painted so as to enable it to behold the rising sun. The tomb inscription of Weshptah, who flourished under Neferirkere of the Vth dynasty, states that the king presented him with an ebony coffin. Hotephiryakhet under the next monarch states that the king honoured him with a stone sarcophagus. Nezemib a little later also received a sarcophagus, and a relief that accompanies the inscription shows the heavy sarcophagus and its lid being transported across the river on a barge. Uni, a servant of Mernere of the VIth dynasty, narrates: "His majesty sent me to Ibhet, to bring the sarcophagus (named) 'Chest of the Living,' together with its lid and the costly, splendid pyramidion for the pyramid (called) 'Mernere Shines and is Beautiful' of the Queen."[44]

In the Middle Kingdom the coffins were elaborately decorated with paint, and the insides were covered with religious texts similar to the *Pyramid Texts* designed to facilitate the entrance of the deceased into the other world. Before the coffins were put together the boards were hastily and carelessly covered by a scribe with a selection of passages furnished by the local priests. Chapters were often repeated, and in one case the same chapter is found five times in a single coffin. The chief thought seems to have been to cover the surface with some sort of a religious text. Among these are passages taken from the *Pyramid Texts* which originally were intended only for the king, but were now applied also to the aristocracy. Other passages were taken from more popular Osirian funerary rituals, and were the forerunners of the

[44] Breasted, *Records*, i. 247, 253, 275f., 321.

material that subsequently made up the *Book of the Dead*. No two coffins agree in the selections that are made and new texts are constantly being discovered.[45]

In the New Empire the fashion arose of shaping the outer sarcophagus in the form of a mummy. The face was shown, and was sometimes a portrait of the deceased. It was decorated with imitation bandages in the form of lattice work, and the intervening spaces were filled with pictures of the gods, scenes from the other world, and fragments of texts. Some of the earlier mummy-cases look as if they were wrapped in wings. The symbolism refers to the myth of Isis who enveloped the dead Osiris with her wings. These mummy-cases were manufactured by the wholesale, and spaces were left on them to be filled in with the name of the deceased. In a number of cases the undertakers have neglected to fill up this space.

i. Graves and Tombs.—The graves of the common people in the pre-dynastic period were simple shallow trenches in which the body was placed in the "embryonic" position, lying on its side with its face toward the east. The trench was filled in with sand, and a small heap of sand and stones was reared over it. Care was taken to place graves above the annual inundation of the Nile, and a preference was shown for the west bank of the river, the region in which the sun went down into the Underworld; hence the name "Westerners" for the dead. Ancient cemeteries are found all along the edge of the desert in Upper Egypt, and thousands of these prehistoric sepulchres have been excavated in recent years. Slightly more elaborate forms of burial are to roof the grave over with branches, to invert a large pottery bowl over the body, to place it inside of a jar, or to line the tomb with brick and place a flat stone slab over it. A still finer method was to sink a short shaft in the rock,

[45] A large collection of these so-called "Coffin Texts" has been published by Lacau, *Textes religieux, Recueil de travaux*, vol. 26 *sq.*

excavate a small chamber in one side for the body, wall up the opening, fill the shaft with rocks, and build a tumulus over it.

Out of the tumulus the *mastaba* was developed. It was a truncated pyramid of brick through which the tomb-shaft ran up to the top. After the body had been deposited in the burial chamber at the bottom this was filled up with stones and sealed. On the eastern side was a false door without any opening through which the spirit passed out and in. In front of this was a shelf or table for receiving offerings that were brought by the descendants of the deceased. A further development of the *mastaba* was the construction within of a doorless chamber for the portrait-statue of the owner of the tomb, and a chapel for the presentation of offerings instead of the primitive shelf. The *mastaba* of Menes, the first historic king, contained a central chamber for the body of the king, surrounded by four other chambers. The nobles of the Old Kingdom continued to enlarge the *mastabas* until they became veritable houses with apartments for every purpose. The tomb of one official of the VIth dynasty had as many as thirty-one rooms. The evident idea was to provide the dead man with a palace such as he had occupied during his life.

When the *mastabas,* which at first were only royal tombs, began to become popular among the nobles, the Pharaohs commenced constructing pyramids for themselves. The first known pyramid is the step-pyramid of Zoser of the IIId dynasty (2980 B.C.) at Sakkara. It marks the transition architecturally from the *mastaba* to the true pyramid, and is the first royal tomb to be built of stone. Beginning with a *mastaba* of the usual type, he gradually enlarged this as his reign went on, until at the end he had a structure like a *ziggurat* of ancient Babylonia in six stages with a height of one hundred and ninety-five feet. This is the first great architectural undertaking in stone that is recorded by history. The later kings of

the IIId dynasty probably constructed the stone pyramids of Dahshur, which are the earliest specimens of this type of architecture. They bear witness to the wealth and power as well as the engineering skill of this dynasty. Snefru, the last monarch of the IIId dynasty, probably built the terraced pyramid at Medum, and also the pyramid with a double slope at Dahshur.

Khufu, the founder of the IVth dynasty (*c.* 2800 B.C.), the Cheops of the Greeks, was the builder of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh near Cairo, the largest structure ever reared by the hand of man. Originally this covered an area of about thirteen acres. The length of each side was about 755 feet. The height was about 481 feet. The altitude of each sloping side was about 619 feet. It contained originally about 3,277,000 cubic yards of masonry. Professor Flinders Petrie estimates that there are in it 2,300,000 separate blocks of stone, each containing 40 cubic feet. These blocks, which rise like giant steps, are about three feet in height. The whole was covered with a casing of dressed stones fitted together so closely that a knife-blade could not be inserted between the joints. Herodotus, ii. 124f., describes the building of this colossal edifice. "He closed the temples, and forbade the Egyptians to offer sacrifice, compelling them instead to labour, one and all, in his service. Some were required to drag blocks of stone down to the Nile, from the quarries in the Arabian range of hills; others received the blocks after they had been conveyed in boats across the river, and drew them to the range of hills called the Libyan. A hundred thousand men laboured constantly, and were relieved every three months by a fresh lot. It took ten years oppression of the people to make the causeway for the conveyance of the stones, a work not much inferior, in my judgment, to the pyramid itself. This causeway is five furlongs in length, ten fathoms wide, and in height, at the highest part, eight fathoms. It is built of polished stone, and is covered with carvings

of animals. It took ten years to make the causeway, the works on the mound where the pyramid stands, and the underground chambers, which Cheops intended as vaults for his own use. These last were built on a sort of island, surrounded by water introduced from the Nile by a canal. The Pyramid itself was twenty years in building." These traditions which Herodotus gathered from the Egyptians bear witness to the awful cost of human labour and suffering at which these "eternal habitations" of the ancient Pharaohs were built.

The two other pyramids at Gizeh, which are smaller than that of Khufu, were erected by Khafre and Menkure, later kings of the same dynasty. The kings of the Vth and of the VIth dynasties also reared pyramids, less magnificent than those of their predecessors, but still extraordinarily great. In spite of the five thousand years that have elapsed since the first of these was built, and all the depredations of succeeding generations, the pyramids of the Old Kingdom still stand in a line sixty miles long on the margin of the western desert as awe-inspiring as when they were first erected, the monuments of a titanic effort to conquer death by securing an eternal preservation of the body.

This form of architecture was chosen by the kings probably because the pyramid was the emblem of their father Re, the sun-god. In his sanctuary at Heliopolis the most sacred object was an ancient pyramidal fetish stone called the *ben*. The pyramidal tops of obelisks were also solar emblems. It was fitting that the dead Pharaoh, who looked for a solar immortality, should lie in a tomb that was itself a symbol of the sun-god, and whose top stone was a pyramidion of special sanctity. Architecturally the pyramid was nothing more than an evolution of the primitive tumulus. It contained merely the burial chamber hidden in its depths, access to which was closed by huge blocks of stone as soon as the body was placed within it, while false passages were constructed

to lead astray would-be intruders. There was no mortuary chapel in the pyramid itself. Instead of this a temple was erected on the east side of the pyramid, where there was a false door before which offerings were presented, and through which the spirit of the royal dead could pass. From this temple a long causeway led to the Nile, with another temple at its eastern end.

The sepulchral chamber and passages of the older pyramids were unadorned, but under the Vth and VIth dynasties they were inscribed with the so-called *Pyramid Texts*.[46] These contain myths of the gods, hymns, and other fragments of extremely ancient ritual, magical charms to rouse the spirit of the dead and to give it vitality in the other world, a ritual of mummification and of burial, a ritual for the presentation of offerings at the tomb pyramid, and collections of prayers to the gods on behalf of the dead. The material is divided into sections, each introduced with the formula, "Recite the words." The pyramid of Unis contains two hundred and twenty-eight of these utterances. The later pyramids bring the number up to seven hundred and fourteen. In the printed edition of Sethe they fill a thousand and fifty-one quarto pages. Their purpose was to facilitate the attainment of solar immortality by the dead Pharaoh.

The Old Kingdom ended in ruin and civil strife, induced perhaps by the exactions of the monarchs for building these costly tombs. When, three hundred years later, the nation revived under the XIth dynasty (2160 B.C.), no attempt was made to rival the efforts of the past. The kings of this dynasty left small pyramids of sun-dried bricks on the edge of the desert west of Thebes. They were still in good condition in the time of Ramses IX of the XXth dynasty when they were entered by tomb-robbers, but they have disappeared at present. The great kings of the XIIth dynasty contented themselves

[46] See p. 153.

also with modest brick pyramids, all of which show the most elaborate devices of false passages and trap-doors designed to frustrate the efforts of tomb-robbers. These pyramids still extend from the entrance of the Fayûm as far as Memphis, but all are in a very ruinous condition.

Around the pyramid of the sovereign were grouped the *mastabas* of his nobles and of the royal princes and princesses. These lay in regular lines on streets, and formed a veritable city of the dead. The necropolis was in charge of an army of mortuary priests, custodians, and workmen, the so-called "children of the cemetery."

During the Middle Kingdom the nobles began to abandon the *mastaba* tomb and to hew out sepulchres for themselves in the cliffs that wall in the Nile valley. The finest of these are at Beniḥasan in Middle Egypt.[47] The architectural features of these tombs are as follows: first, a court open to the sky in front of the tomb, then a vestibule cut out of the solid rock with pillars supporting the roof, behind this a large hall, also excavated out of the rock, and also having its ceiling supported by pillars, and back of this a small chamber for the statue of the owner. The sepulchral chamber was reached by a shaft from the hall of columns. The walls of the tomb were decorated with scenes from domestic life and with inscriptions recounting the life of the deceased.[48]

During the New Empire the kings abandoned the pyramids and adopted the rock-tombs of the nobles of the Middle Kingdom. These hypogæa differed considerably, however, from the older type. A long passage through the rock led to a series of chambers, and beyond these, or beneath them with a concealed entrance, was the "gold house" in which the sarcophagus was placed that contained the royal mummy. All the mighty rulers of the XVIIIth, XIXth, and XXth dynasties were buried in such rock-tombs excavated in a narrow mountain gorge

[47] See Baedeker, *Egypt*,[5] p. 197.
[48] See Newberry, *Beni Hasan;* Breasted, *Records*, i. 619 *sq.*

west of Thebes now known as Bibân el-Mulûk. The walls of the chambers were no longer covered exclusively with domestic scenes, as in the earlier rock-tombs, but also with religious ritual similar to the *Coffin Texts*.[49] The mortuary chapels were no longer connected with the tombs but were developed into splendid temples on the other side of the mountain at Dêr el-Bahri or in the plain. Several private tombs have successfully eluded discovery down to recent times, and have been found by archæologists with all their treasures intact.

j. Deposits in Tombs.—In the pre-dynastic period there were buried with the dead jars and bowls of food and drink that he might not hunger in the other world, flint knives and harpoons so that he might hunt and defend himself, clothing and ornaments, slate palettes for grinding green malachite face-paint, a bag for holding the pieces of malachite, and even a draught-board for his amusement. Already at this early period models were deposited in graves instead of real articles, the idea being that they were magically converted into the spiritual counterparts needed by the deceased. Thus we find models of boats, of cattle, of hippopotami, of servants, and of steatopygous women gaily painted, presumably the Houris of the other world.[50]

The chambers of the royal *mastabas* of the Ist dynasty were furnished with couches of ivory, inlaid and carved tables and chairs of the most artistic workmanship, and marvellous jars made of the hardest stone worked out with stone tools until their walls were as thin and translucent as glass. There were also stores of food of all sorts, and jars of beer and of wine sufficient to last the spirit of the dead king for many days. A large memorial stone bearing in huge hieroglyphics the name of the king was also set up in the tomb. In small chambers around the monarch were buried the bodies of his wives, his

[49] See Baedeker, *Egypt*,[5] pp. 262, *sq.*
[50] See p. 48f.

guards, his dwarfs, and even his dogs, with small tablets bearing their names. The suspicion is strong that, as among so many other primitive peoples, these were slain in order to accompany their lord into the spirit-world.

The same intellectual processes which in China led to the substitution of imitations instead of real gifts to the dead, led also in Egypt to the gradual disappearance of tomb-deposits. In the *mastabas* of nobles of the Old Kingdom contemporary with the great pyramids of the IIId to the VIth dynasties the food-dishes were reduced to tiny conventional substitutes; and in place of the costly furniture and provisions, the walls were decorated with pictures of the things that the deceased might need in the future life. By "sympathetic magic" these pictures produced the corresponding spiritual equivalents. They showed the noble in a skiff with his wife, hunting wild fowl with a boomerang, or spearing a hippopotamus with a harpoon. Peasants tilled the fields with yokes of oxen, reaped the grain and threshed it. Cattle were brought in herds and were butchered. Women ground the wheat into flour, made bread and baked it, and prepared all the other dishes for the noble's table. All the scenes of a busy agricultural and commercial civilization were represented, and these pictures form an inexhaustible mine of information in regard to the life of the Old Kingdom. By these means the noble hoped to secure the same creature-comforts in eternity that he had enjoyed in time. He could take nothing out of the world, but by this simple process he provided himself with a letter of credit that was negotiable in the "land of no return." This same custom continued in the *mastabas* and rock-tombs of the Middle Kingdom.

In tombs of the New Empire, as we have seen, these pictures of daily life are replaced by religious texts and scenes from the Underworld. These form the so-called "Book of Him Who is in the Nether World." This describes the journey of the sun-god through twelve cav-

erns of Hades which correspond to the twelve hours of the night. It tells of the monsters and perils that are there to be encountered, and how they may be escaped by the judicious use of magical formulas so that one may complete the journey with the sun-god and rise with him in newness of life in the East. The material is similar to that of the *Coffin Texts* and to that found in the papyrus rolls containing the *Book of the Dead.*[51]

Even under the New Empire the burial of food and furniture with the dead did not cease. The tombs of Yuya and Thuya, the parents of Tiy, the queen of Amenhotep III, which were discovered untouched by Mr. Theodore M. Davis of Newport, R. I., in 1905, contained sumptuous furniture of all sorts. The same was true of the untouched tomb of Amenhotep II. The accounts of tomb-robberies under the XXth dynasty also report that the thieves "had stolen their articles of house-furniture which had been given them."

A curious survival of the ancient custom of burying models of persons and things with the dead is seen in the so-called *ushebtis,* little glazed pottery figures that have been found in vast numbers in tombs of the New Empire. These are mostly in mummy form, and carry sacks and hoes, or other tools, over their shoulders. The inscription on them reads: "O, thou *ushebti,* when I am called, and when I am required to do any kind of work which is done in Hades . . . and when I am required at any time to cause the fields to flourish, to irrigate the banks, to convey sand from the east to the west, thou shalt say, Here am I." These figures are mentioned in the *Book of the Dead* in the chapter entitled "Causing that the *Ushebti* Do the Work of a Man in *Dewat.*" The idea evidently was that King Osiris might call upon his subjects to work in the Elysian Fields. The aristocrat, who had no taste for this sort of labour, provided for the emergency by having great numbers of *ushebtis* on hand

[51] See G. Jéquier, *Le livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hades,* Paris, 1894.

who through the power of the magic formula inscribed upon them would take his place when they were summoned.

Another peculiarity of the mortuary customs of the New Empire was the burial of numerous amulets and other magical objects with the deceased. One of these was the "Horus-eye," an imitation in blue or green enamel or in precious stone of the plucked-out eye of Horus with which he had resuscitated his father Osiris. Another was the so-called heart-scarab, which was designed to take the place of the heart of the dead man when it was weighed in the judgment before Osiris. These scarabs were inscribed with the words: "O heart that I have from my mother! O heart that belongs to my spirit! Do not appear against me as a witness, do not oppose me before the judges, do not contradict me before him who governs the balance." Still another magical object was the small stone pyramid that was frequently placed in tombs of the New Empire. It was made with two doors on opposite sides, in which the deceased was represented adoring the rising and the setting sun. Through this solar emblem it was hoped that the soul would be united with the sun-god in his rising as well as in his setting. Besides these there were pectorals placed on the breast of the mummy, sceptres, crowns, head-dresses of the gods, head-rests, squares, levels, staircases, *etc.* A late text enumerates one hundred and four articles of this sort that are necessary for the repose of the soul.[52]

Of similar character were the papyrus rolls containing magical texts that during this period were deposited with the dead. The rolls contained a few fragments of the *Pyramid Texts,* large selections from the *Coffin Texts,* and additional material from other sources. There was no standard edition in this period, but the scribes made at pleasure excerpts from the sources at their disposal. Some rolls were eighty feet long, and contained one

[52] See Erman, *Religion,* pp. 140-147.

hundred and thirty chapters; others were small, and contained only the most important chapters. These constituted the so-called *Book of the Dead.* It was a sort of guide-book to the Underworld, and contained the charms that were necessary to bring one safely through the perils of that realm. The finer rolls were magnificently illustrated with coloured vignettes depicting scenes in Hades. These help to explain the obscure text, and are a rich mine of information in regard to the mythological conceptions of the ancient Egyptians.

The wealth that was buried with the dead in all periods was a constant temptation to rob graves, in spite of the heavy legal penalties and the terrors of religion. Most of the tombs of the Old Kingdom were violated during the period of disorder that followed the VIth dynasty; those of the Middle Kingdom, during the period of the Hyksos; and those of the New Kingdom, during the decline that followed the XXth dynasty. Sporadic robbery went on all the time, so that it is a rare event when an unviolated tomb is discovered by an archæologist. Even the Pharaohs Ramses II and Merneptah did not scruple to steal the mortuary furniture of their predecessors.

Under Ramses IX of the XXth dynasty there was an epidemic of robberies at the royal tombs in the necropolis of Thebes, in which even officials of the Government were involved. The *Papyrus Abbott* contains a record of the royal investigations and legal proceedings at this time. After a detailed report of individual tombs examined, there follows this summary: "These are the tombs and sepulchres in which the nobles, the . . ., the Theban women, and the people of the land rest, on the west of the city; it was found that the thieves had broken into them all, that they had pulled out their occupants from their coverings and coffins, they (the occupants) being thrown upon the ground; and that they had stolen their articles of house-furniture, which had been given them, together with the gold, the silver, and the orna-

ments which were in their coverings." [53] The culprits were found and were punished at this time, but the tomb-robberies continued, and the Government was powerless to prevent them. It was this miserable state of affairs that led to the removal of the royal mummies from their tombs and concealment in the rock cleft near Dêr el-Baḥri, where they were found in 1881.

k. Shrines for the Cult of the Dead.—The earliest holy place was the grave itself on which offerings were laid and ceremonies were performed. The next stage of development was a shelf in front of the false door of the *mastaba* on which gifts for the occupant of the tomb were placed. A further evolution carried the false door back into the interior of the tomb so as to leave a small mortuary chapel in front of it. Still later the chapel was separated from the tomb in the form of an independent edifice built against the east side, as was the case in the royal pyramids. The final stage of the development was the erection of a mortuary temple at some distance from the tomb, as was the practice of the Pharaohs of the New Kingdom. The temples in front of the great pyramids of Gizeh were no less remarkable than the pyramids themselves, if we may judge from the scanty remains that excavation has disclosed. The kings of the Middle Empire, in proportion as they decreased the size of their pyramids, increased the magnificence of their mortuary temples. The nobles of the same period, who constructed the rock-tombs, had, besides the chapels in these tombs, also mortuary chapels in their native towns for the easier celebration of the rites of their worship.

Amenhotep I of the XVIIIth dynasty was the last king to construct a mortuary chapel in front of his tomb. His successors, in order to escape desecration of their graves, concealed them in the Bîbân el-Mulûk near Thebes on the west side of the cliffs that enclose the Nile valley,

[53] Breasted, *Records*, iv. 499-556.

at a distance of two miles from the river, and accessible only by a circuitous path. The temples for their worship were erected in the plain on the east side of the mountain. Thus the orientation of the ancient tombs was preserved, although a long distance separated the grave from the sanctuary. The magnificent unfinished temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Dêr el-Baḥri opposite Thebes, the finest of all the cliff-temples of Egypt, was built for the posthumous cult of the Queen and of her father. The walls were decorated with scenes from the life and the expeditions of the only female Pharaoh.[54] All the temples that cover the plain on the west side of the river opposite Thebes (Luxor) were designed for the worship of deceased monarchs of the XVIIIth, XIXth, and XXth dynasties. They are as splendid as any of the temples that were erected for the gods.

l. Mourning for the Dead.—The rites of embalmment and of burial were attended with an elaborate ritual of mourning. Thus the *Tale of Sinuhe,* a noble who flourished under Amenemhat I of the XIIth dynasty, narrates:

> "In year thirty, second month of first season, seventh day,
> Departed the god (Pharaoh) into his horizon,
> The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sehetepibre.
> He ascended to heaven, joined with the sun;
> The divine limbs were mingled with him that begat him.
> In the court silence. . . .
> The great double doors were closed,
> The court sat in mourning,
> The people bowed down in silence."

In the case of Kheti, a noble under the Xth dynasty, it is recorded after his death: "Then mourned the king himself, all Middle Egypt, and the Northland." [56] Gen. 50:3, 10 narrate that the Egyptians mourned seventy

[54] See Baedeker, *Egypt,*[5] pp. 278-283.
[55] Breasted, *Records,* i. 491.
[56] *Ibid.,* i. 414.

days for Jacob after his death, and seven days at the time of his burial.

An important part of the mourning was the recitation of formal laments. The model for these was the lament of Isis over Osiris, a late form of which has come down to us. Part of this reads as follows: "Come to thy house, come to thy house, O god On! Come to thy house, thou who hast no enemies! O beautiful stripling, come to thy house that thou mayest see me! I am thy sister whom thou lovest; thou shalt not abandon me. O beauteous youth, come to thy house. . . . I see thee not and my heart fears for thee, mine eyes long for thee. . . . Come to her who loves thee, who loves thee, Wennofre, thou blessed one! Come to thy sister, come to thy wife, thy wife, thou whose heart is still! Come to her who is mistress of thy house! I am thy sister, born of the same mother, thou shalt not be far from me. Gods and men turn their faces toward thee, and together they bewail thee. . . . I call to thee and weep, so that it is heard even to heaven, but thou dost not hear my voice, and yet I am thy sister whom thou lovedst upon earth! Thou lovedst none besides me, my brother, my brother!" [57]

A lament sung by the Theban women as the boat floated across the Nile bearing the mummy to its last resting-place in the great necropolis called "Place of Beauty" ran as follows:

> "Turn to the West, to the Land of the Righteous!
> The wives in the boat weep bitterly, bitterly.
> In peace, in peace to the West,
> O praised one, come in peace!
> When the day shall dawn to Eternity,
> Then shall we see thee again." [58]

As in other Oriental lands, the family was assisted in these laments by professional mourning men and mourning women.[59]

[57] Erman, *Religion*, p. 33.
[58] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 320.
[59] Breasted, *Records*, i. 370.

m. Sacrifice to the Dead.—The gifts of food placed in the grave could not be expected to last the dead man forever, consequently, his descendants were expected to bring additional offerings regularly. The tomb-inscriptions frequently pray that the deceased may not be left without the necessities of life. Thus Nezemib of the period of the Vth dynasty intreats: "O ye living who are still upon earth, who pass by this tomb; let water be poured out for me, for I was a master of secret things. Let a mortuary offering of that which is with you come forth for me, for I was one beloved of the people. Never was I beaten in the presence of any official since my birth; never did I take the property of any man by violence; but I was a doer of that which pleased all men." [60]

Pious descendants record that they fulfilled these filial obligations. Thus the son of a royal favourite of the IVth dynasty says: "Her eldest son, the field-judge, built (this chapel) for her to make mortuary offerings to her therein." [61] Ahmose, the founder of the XVIIIth dynasty, is represented as saying: "It is I who have remembered the mother of my mother, and the mother of my father, great king's-wife and king's-mother, Tetisheri, triumphant. Although she has already a tomb and a mortuary chapel on the soil of Thebes and Abydos, I have said this to thee, that my majesty has desired to have made for her also a pyramid and a house in Tazeser, as a monumental donation of my majesty. Its lake shall be dug, its trees shall be planted, its offerings shall be founded, equipped with people, endowed with land, presented with herds, mortuary priests and ritual priests having their duties, every man knowing his stipulation. . . . Never did former kings the like of it for their mothers." [62]

As a rule, however, the Egyptians could not be trusted to show the filial piety that was displayed by the Chinese

[60] Breasted, *Records*, i. 279.
[61] *Ibid.*, i. 185.
[62] *Ibid.*, ii. 36-37.

in keeping up the regular sacrifices to the dead; accordingly, the wealthy were in the habit of leaving endowments for the maintenance of their mortuary offerings as well as for the upkeep of their tombs. This practice began in the Old Kingdom, and lasted down to the latest times.[63] One of the most interesting cases is that of Hepzefi, Count of Siut, under Sesostris I of the XIIth tercalary days"; according to the second contract, "white the priests of Siut to provide offerings to his departed spirit. According to the first contract, he is to receive "a white loaf per individual priest for his statue which is in the temple of Anubis, on the first of the five intercalary days" according to the second contract, "white bread from each of them for his statue which is in charge of the mortuary priest, on New Year's Day"; according to the third contract, "there shall be given to him bread and beer in the first month of the first season, on the eighteenth day, the day of the Wag-feast, namely, twenty-two jars of beer, two thousand two hundred flat loaves, and fifty-five white loaves"; according to the fourth contract, "a white loaf per each individual among them for his statue which is in the temple, in the first month of the first season, on the eighteenth day, the day of the Wag-feast"; according to the fifth contract, "three wicks with which the fire is kindled for the god"; according to the sixth contract, "the roast of meat which is due upon the altar, which is placed upon the oblation-table, for every bull which is slaughtered in the temple; and one jar for every jar of beer, every day of a procession, which shall be due every future superior prophet"; according to the seventh contract, "three wicks due to him, with which the fire is kindled in the temple of Anubis, on New Year's Eve, New Year's Day, and the night of the Wag-feast." The remaining contracts are similar in contents.[64]

Among the articles of food offered to the dead the

[63] See above, p. 167f.
[64] Breasted, *Records*, i. 535 *sq.*

inscriptions mention: grain, bread and cakes of various materials and sizes, fruit of all sorts, honey, wild, and domestic cattle, sheep, goats, and game of wild animals, geese and other birds and fish. As libations we find water, milk, beer and wine. Incense also was offered to the dead, as to the gods. The reliefs that accompany the inscriptions often depict the dead enjoying the dainties that are set before them. Thus the tomb of Nekonekh under the Vth dynasty represents him seated at a table, while eight mortuary priests serve him with viands. Evidently the ancient Egyptians had no intention of going hungry in the other world.

The foregoing survey makes it evident that in all essential particulars the beliefs of the Egyptians in regard to disembodied spirits were identical with those of the Chinese and of other early races.

CHAPTER VI

SPIRITISM AMONG THE EARLY SEMITES

In the Book of Genesis the Hebrews first appear as a nomadic race entering Canaan from the east. From the period prior to this migration no records or traditions have come down to us; nevertheless by means of the sciences of comparative philology and comparative religion it is possible to gain considerable information concerning the theology of that remote age. In language, customs and beliefs the Hebrews were closely akin to the Canaanites, Aramæans, Assyrians, Babylonians, Arabs, Ethiopians and other races that are grouped by ethnologists under the general name of "Semitic." [1] Ideas and institutions that are found among all these races must have been possessed by their forefathers in the primitive home in the Arabian desert, where they dwelt together before their dispersion. Applying this comparative method of research, we may sketch in outline the main features of early Semitic belief concerning the future life.

a. The Conception of Spirits.—The primitive Semitic conception of spirits was in all its main features similar to that of other primitive races throughout the world. Man was believed to consist of two elements, 'flesh,' (Heb. *basar*) and 'breath' (Heb. Phœn. *nefesh,* Arab, *nafs,* Eth. *nafas,* Syr. *nafsha,* Bab. Ass. *napishtu*). The 'breath' was the seat of knowledge, appetite, emotion, and activity; accordingly it was identical with the person. In all the Semitic dialects *nafshi,* 'my breath,' means 'myself.' The 'breath' was supposed to inhere in the

[1] From Sem, the Greek and Latin form of Shem, the assumed ancestor of these peoples in Gen. 10:21-31.

blood, because it was observed that when the blood was shed life went out of a man. The ancient Arabs spoke of the *nafs* as flowing out of a man who was dying of wounds, and all the Semites were afraid to eat the blood of slaughtered animals for fear that they might be possessed by the spirits of these animals. The heart, as the chief receptacle of blood in the body, was also regarded as the abode of the 'breath' and as the centre of its intellectual faculties. At death the 'breath' with all its powers went out of a man.

Another word for 'spirit' found in several of the Semitic languages is *ruḥ* (Heb. *ruaḥ,* Aram. *ruḥa)* 'wind.' In Arabic this word has only the meaning 'wind,' except in late usage borrowed from the Syriac, and it is not found in Assyro-Babylonian; accordingly, it is probably not such a primitive word for 'spirit' as *nefesh,* although it must have been in use before the separation of the Hebræo-Canaanite and the Aramæan branches from the parent Semitic stock. It is practically a synonym of *nefesh,* but it emphasizes more the energy of the soul.

b. Existence of Spirits After Death.—Among the Semites belief in the continued existence of the disembodied *nefesh* or *ruaḥ* existed from the earliest times. The ancient tombs at Nippur and Tello in Babylonia contain the usual offerings to the dead.[2] In the oldest tombs of Palestine[3] the dead were commonly deposited in the contracted position of an unborn child, in witness to the faith that death was birth into another life; and with them were placed offerings of food and of other useful articles. In Babylonian the *napishtu,* or 'breath' is said to "go out" of a man, but the disembodied spirit is not called *napishtu,* as in the other Semitic dialects, but *eṭimmu* (not *ekimmu* as the name

[2] Peters, *Nippur,* II. 173; Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization,* p. 686; Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria,* pp. 598f.

[3] *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement,* 1902, pp. 351ff.; 1903, pp. 14ff.

was formerly read), or its Sumerian equivalent *utukku.*[4] In Rabbinical writings the Hebrew equivalent of *eṭimmu* is *ruaḥ.*

The statement of the *Qur'an (Sura* xxxix. 43) "Allah takes the souls to himself when they die, and those who have not died (He takes) in their sleep," shows that the ancient Arabs believed that the soul left the body in sleep, and that death differed from sleep only in the fact that the soul failed to return to its former residence. In some passages of the *Qur'an* Muhammad speaks as if the heathen Arabs believed that the soul perished with the body, but this is exaggeration due to the contrast between the lower ideas of the heathen and his own higher doctrine of immortality. By all the Arabs the *nafs* or 'breath' was supposed to live on; and *nafs,* or in later usage *ruḥ,* 'wind,' was the common name for 'ghost.' According to Wellhausen[5] the Jinn, or 'hidden beings' of the Arabs, who were for the most part nature-spirits, also included spirits of the dead. Like other primitive peoples, the pre-Muhammadan Arabs buried the dead with care, provided for their needs in the other world, invoked their assistance, and even swore by their life.[6]

c. Powers Retained by Spirits of the Dead.—Spirits of the dead were believed to retain in large measure their former intellectual powers. Those who had led unhappy lives on earth or who had come to untimely ends grieved over their misfortunes in the other world and returned to take their revenge upon the living.

d. Powers Gained by Spirits of the Dead.—The Semites also believed in the acquisition of new and superhuman powers by disembodied spirits. They could move at will from place to place. As a Babylonian exorcism says:

[4] Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia,* i. p. xxiv.
[5] *Reste arabischen Heidentums,*[2] pp. 148ff.
[6] Wellhausen, *op. cit.,* p. 185; Nöldeke, in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion,* art. "Arabs," p. 672.

"The highest walls, the thickest walls, like a flood they pass
From house to house they break through.
No door can shut them out, no bolt can turn them back.
Through the door like a snake they glide,
Through the hinge like the wind they blow." [7]

They could take possession of inanimate objects and use these as they would their own bodies. Among the Arabs a heap of stones, or a standing stone (*nuṣb* = Heb. *maṣṣēbā),* was placed upon the grave, and was believed to be occupied by the dead just as really as similar stones in sanctuaries were occupied by the gods.[8] In Nabatæan, Palmyrene, and Aramaic *nefesh,* 'soul,' means also 'tombstone.' The Babylonians provided statues at the entrances to temples and houses as residences for the ghosts.[9] Among the Arabs ghosts and Jinn frequently appeared in the forms of beasts and birds, particularly of serpents and owls.[10] The same was true in Babylonia.[11]

Spirits could also take possession of living men. The Arabs believed that while the soul was absent in sleep the Jinn could easily occupy its body. They caused all manner of diseases and insanity. The name for 'insane' was *majnûn, i. e.,* 'possessed by Jinn.' They were also the cause of remarkable ability and prophetic inspiration.[12] The spirit that revealed himself to a medium was known as *ra'î,* the same word as the Hebrew *rô'eh,* 'seer.' The Babylonians believed that the troubled ghost of the unburied, or of one who had died an unnatural death, might enter the body of any person with whom it had established chance relations in life, and might then cause disease and pain.[13] It could be driven out only by powerful incantations in the name of the

[7] Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits,* 1. 53.
[8] Wellhausen, *Reste,* pp. 180, 184.
[9] Jastrow, *Die Religion Bab.,* p. 281; see also the representations in Thompson, *Devils, I,* frontispiece, Pl. II; and Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia,* p. 147.
[10] Wellhausen, *Reste,* pp. 152, 157, 185.
[11] Thompson, *Devils,* i. pp. L, 51; Jastrow, *Die Rel. Bab.,* p. 281.
[12] Wellhausen, *Reste,*[2] pp. 155-168.
[13] Thompson, *Devils,* I, xxxiv.

great gods, and by threats that it should be deprived of food and drink.

A Babylonian exorcism mentions the following classes of troubled ghosts:—

"Whether thou art a ghost that hath gone forth from the earth,
Or a phantom of night that hath no couch,
Or a woman (that hath died) a virgin,
Or a man (that hath died) unmarried,
Or one that lieth dead in the desert.

. . . . . .

Or one that hath been torn from a date-palm,
Or one that cometh through the waters in a boat,

. . . . . .

Or a harlot (that hath died) whose body is sick,
Or a woman (that hath died) in travail,
Or a woman (that hath died) with a babe at the breast,
Or a weeping woman (that hath died) with a babe at the breast." [14]

Among the Arabs the soul of a murdered man was believed to thirst for the blood of his slayer. If his clansmen did not speedily avenge him, he appeared in the form of an owl, crying, "Give me to drink." [15]

Among the Babylonians ghosts frequently appeared in houses and omens were drawn from these manifestations.[16] In the Gilgamesh Epic (tablet xii) the ghost of Enkidu comes to Gilgamesh, talks with him, and answers his questions. Among the Arabs ghosts were more easily perceived by animals than by men (a widespread belief; cf. Balaam's ass, Num. 22:23), but they were also seen by men under favourable conditions. They spoke in whispers or in mysterious murmurs in the desert. Their voice was known as *ṣadâ*, 'echo.' When they were addressed by the living, they replied out of their graves. When a woman named Laila doubted whether her dead lover could answer her, as he had promised he

[14] Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, I. 39ff.
[15] Nöldeke, in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion*, art. "Arabs," p. 672.
[16] Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, I. xxxv.

would do, an owl flew out of his grave and struck her in the face.[17]

e. Powers Lost by Spirits of the Dead.—The ancient Semites agreed with other primitive peoples in thinking that with the loss of the body the soul lost many of its powers. Disembodied spirits were conceived as feeble, intangible beings, bereft of the sense-perceptions that belong to the physical organism. The names "breath," "wind," "shadow," "echo," that were applied to ghosts suggested their ethereal nature. In Babylonian incantations they are described as "wind-gusts that come forth from the grave." "In heaven they are unknown, on earth they are not understood; they neither stand or sit, nor eat nor drink." "They are the roaming wind-blasts; no wife have they, no son do they beget. Sense they know not. They are as horses reared among the hills." [18] In the Gilgamesh Epic the ghost of Enkidu issues "like a wind out of the follow in the earth." [19]

f. The Dwelling-Place of the Dead.—The ancient Semites believed that the disembodied spirit continued to maintain a relation with its dead body, so that the corpse, or the grave, continued to be the chief seat of its activity. In Babylonia the *etimmu,* or 'ghost,' is constantly spoken of as coming forth from the grave. Thus in an incantation we read:—

"The gods which seize upon man have gone forth from the grave,
The evil wind-blasts have gone forth from the grave,
To demand the paying of rites and the pouring of libations,
They have gone forth from the grave.
All that is evil in their hosts like a whirlwind
Hath gone forth from the grave." [20]

In Arabia the name *hamâ,* 'skull,' applied to the departed indicates that they were associated with their mortal remains. Many of the Jinn live in graveyards

[17] Wellhausen, *Reste,* pp. 150f., 183.
[18] Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits,* I. xxix, 75.
[19] *Gilgamesh Epic,* tablet xii, col. iii; = *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek,* VI, 263.
[20] Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits,* II, 131.

or in regions where all the inhabitants have died. They love decay and foul smells.[21]

Without burial the spirits of the dead could not rest. In the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic (tablet xii, col. 6) the ghost of Enkidu says to Gilgamesh: "He whose corpse has been thrown out into the desert—thou hast seen, I have seen it—his spirit resteth not in the earth." Among the numerous classes of evil spirits in Babylonia none were more dreaded than ghosts of the unburied:—

"He that lieth in a ditch . . . he that is covered by no grave . . .
He that lieth uncovered, whose head is uncovered with dust,
The king's son that lieth in the desert, or in the ruins,
The hero whom they have slain with the sword." [22]

By both Babylonians and Assyrians burial was refused to enemies, and their bodies were cast out to be devoured by beasts and birds. The graves of dead enemies also were often violated. In the stele of Eannatum (*c.* 2700 B.C.) the corpses of enemies are depicted as being devoured by vultures. Of the Babylonians who supported his brother Shamashshumukin in a revolt Ashurbanipal says: "I slew there those people. Their cut-up flesh I gave as food to dogs, swine, vultures, eagles, birds of heaven and fish of the sea." [23] After his conquest of Elam Ashurbanipal records: "The tombs of their kings, the former and the latter, who had not feared Ashur and Ishtar, my lords, and who had opposed the kings my fathers, I destroyed and wasted and let the sun behold them. Their bones I carried to Assyria. I allowed their spirits no rest. I deprived them of their food and their libations of water." [24]

Among the Arabs burial was a necessity, without which the soul could not rest. Cremation was regarded as no less dreadful than the burning of the living body.

[21] Wellhausen, *Reste*, pp. 150f.; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta* I, 259, 448.
[22] Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, p. 86.
[23] *Annals of Ashurbanipal*, IV, 73ff.; VII, 45.
[24] *Ibid.*, VI, 70ff.; see Jeremias, *Die babylonisch-assyrischen Vorstellungen von Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 46ff.

Only the corpses of enemies were cast out to be devoured.[25] Graves of friends were carefully covered with heavy stones so that they might not be entered by hyenas.

In marked contrast to this conception of the connection of the disembodied spirit with its corpse is the belief found among the Babylonians and expressed in many parts of the Old Testament that the dead live together in a subterranean abode known as *Shĕôl*. This idea is not found among the Arabs, nor among several other races allied to the Hebrews; it cannot therefore be primitive Semitic. Other races think of the soul either as remaining with the body, or as going to a realm beneath the earth, on a mountain top, beyond the ocean, or in the sky. This variety shows that the conception of a spirit-world is secondary, and that the primitive belief was that the soul remained in the neighbourhood of the body. This also was doubtless the original Semitic idea, and the doctrine of *Shĕôl* is a later development.

g. General Conception of Death.—In their estimate of the worth of spirit-life the Semites did not rise above the general level of other primitive races. In pre-Muhammadan Arab poetry the thought is continually repeated that death is the end of happiness, therefore "Let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die." No consolation is derived from the belief that the soul continues to exist and possesses superhuman powers. The only comfort offered is that death is the universal lot of men. In Babylonia long life was regarded as an evidence of the favour of the gods, and death as a sign that they had forsaken a man. It was dreaded as a fearful and inevitable disaster, and was known as "the day of distress," or "the day that lets no one go." The lot of the dead was most unhappy. "Dust is their food, mud their victuals. They see not the light, they dwell in darkness They are clothed like birds with a covering of wings." [26]

[25] Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 177; Nöldeke, Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion*, I, 672.
[26] *Descent of Ishtar*, line 8.

When Gilgamesh appeals to the ghost of Enkidu to tell him what the other world is like, Enkidu at first refuses for fear that his friend cannot bear the terrible description; and when at last he consents, he bids Gilgamesh prepare to weep over the things that he will hear.[27]

The great gods whom men loved and adored were gods of the upper world and of the living; their sway did not extend into the dark abodes of the dead. They aided men against the ghosts and evil demons who sought to destroy them. When death came it was a sign that their favour was withdrawn, or that they were unable to help against the powers of darkness. The disembodied spirit passed out of their jurisdiction into that of divinities with whom in life it had established no friendly relations. Such a conception of immortality was quite as devoid of religious or ethical value as were the spiritistic beliefs of other primitive races.

h. The Cult of the Dead.—The rites of mourning among the Semites were similar to those among other primitive peoples and bear witness to a similar cult of the dead. Among the ancient Arabs it was customary to strip one's self when mourning. Women exposed not only their faces and breasts, but sometimes their entire bodies. Messengers that brought tidings of death appeared naked or half-naked.[28] The custom had a religious origin, since the Arabs used to make the circuit of the Ka'ba naked, and even today perform it without shoes and in a simple loincloth. In Babylonian monuments of the earliest period the worshippers are depicted naked; in later times they wear a kilt.[29] Cutting one's flesh as a means of establishing a blood-covenant with the dead was common among the ancients.[30] Women also cut off their hair, and men sheared the head and the beard. The casting of dust upon the head or the body

[27] *Gilgamesh Epic,* tablet xii, col. 4.
[28] Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums,*[2] pp. 177, 195.
[29] Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria,* p. 666.
[30] Wellhausen, *Reste,* p. 181.

was another mourning custom.[31] Analogous was the habit of drinking water mixed with dust from the grave.[32] Fasting on the day of death, or for a longer period, was also a common practice.

Burial was the universal Semitic custom; indeed, the word *ḳabar,* 'bury,' is common to all the Semitic languages. By the ancient Arabs graves were surrounded with a *ḥima,* or sacred inclosure, and were provided with *anṣâb,* or standing stones, like the sanctuaries of the gods. They were also asylums where criminals found refuge. At them all the rites of sacrifice went on that were usual in the worship of the gods.[33]

Among the Arabs the cooking-pot and dishes of the deceased were broken, and his camel was lamed and tethered near the grave to die of starvation. About 1100 A.D. certain Arabs of Northern Yemen honoured a dead chief by breaking a thousand swords and three hundred bows and by laming seventy horses. Not merely at the time of burial, but also subsequently camels were slain. An early poet laments that he cannot sacrifice his camel to his friend because it is the only one he possesses. Besides blood, libations of water and of milk were poured upon graves, and the wish was expressed that much rain might fall upon them. In some parts of Arabia fragrant wood was burned as incense. These customs have lasted down to the present day both among the Bedawin and among the Arabs of Syria.[34]

Prayer to the dead is well attested among the ancient Semites. Among the Arabs the women broke out in a shrill wail when any member of the family died, and continued this until the period of mourning was over. This was accompanied with frequent ejaculation of the

[31] Wellhausen, *Reste,*[2] p. 177.
[32] *Ibid.,* p. 163; Jastrow, "Dust and Ashes as Symbols of Mourning," *Jour. Am. Orient. Soc.,* XX, 133f.
[33] Wellhausen, *Reste,*[2] p. 184.
[34] *Ibid.,* pp. 177-84; Nöldeke, Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* I, 672; Burckhardt, *Beduinen und Wahaby,* pp. 84f.; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta,* I, 240, 354, 442, 450 ff.; Curtiss, *Ursemitische Religion,* chap. xix.

name of the deceased, and with the entreaty, "Be not far away!" Poets also composed extended laments addressed to the dead. The belief that spirits of the dead could be called up by magic arts to assist the living, or to reveal the future, was held by the Semites in common with other ancient peoples. The Arab magician had his *tabî'*, or 'follower,' *i.e.*, his familiar spirit. In Babylonia "raiser of the departed spirit" was the standing title of the necromancer. In the Gilgamesh Epic (tablet xii, col. 3) we have an account of how Gilgamesh raised the ghost of Enkidu and held converse with him.

CHAPTER VII

SPIRITISM IN BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

About 5000 B.C. a race appeared in Babylonia whose remains survived in consequence of the fact that it built its towns on artificial mounds raised above the level of the river floods. This race is called Sumerian because its earliest monuments have been found in Sumer, the ancient name for Southern Babylonia. In the lowest levels of the mounds inscriptions have been discovered in an extremely primitive character that approximates picture-writing. In these characters we see the beginning of the Babylonian and Assyrian cuneiform, or wedge-writing, that remained in use almost down to the beginning of the Christian era. About 3500 B.C. the invasion of Babylonia by the Semites began. In process of time the Sumerians were conquered, and their language gave place to a dialect akin to Hebrew, but their civilization left an indelible impression upon the conquering Semites. Sumerian remained the sacred language of Babylonia, just as Latin remained the sacred language of the Roman Church; and an immense body of Sumerian literature was transmitted by the priests down almost to the beginning of our era. It is certain that none of this material was invented by the Semites, but that it was merely inherited from their Sumerian predecessors. From this literature, contained chiefly in tablets discovered in the library of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (626 B.C.), it is possible to derive a full and accurate conception of Sumerian beliefs in regard to the future life.

a. Activity of the Dead.—Unlike China, where ancestors were believed to bless their descendants and re-

ward their filial piety, in Babylonia and Assyria the activity of spirits of the dead was entirely maleficent. Nowhere are they said to bless and help men, nowhere are they invoked for aid. They come forth from the grave to kill and to destroy. The best that can be hoped of them is that they will be placated by the offerings made at their tombs, will remain at rest, and will refrain from harm. Positive good is never expected from them. Good things come from the gods, who are the protectors of men against the depredations of the ghosts. Prayers, therefore, are addressed only to the gods, ghosts are appeased or are exorcised.[1]

The Sumerians, or primitive Babylonians, believed that all disease was caused by the obsession of malignant spirits that entered into the bodies of men. Three classes of evil spirits were recognized, first, ghosts of those who had died unnatural deaths, or had remained unburied; second, vampires that were half-human and half-demon; third, fiends who were of the same nature as the gods. These are all enumerated at the beginning of a hymn to the sun-god:

"He on whom an evil Spirit hath rushed,
He whom an evil Demon hath enveloped in his bed,
He whom an evil Ghost hath cast down in the night,
He whom a great Devil hath smitten,
He whose limbs an evil God hath racked (?),
He—the hair of whose body an evil Fiend hath set on end,
He whom . . . a Hag-demon hath seized,
He whom a Ghoul hath cast down,
He whom a Robber-sprite hath afflicted,
He whom the Handmaid of the Night-Phantom hath wedded,
The man with whom the Handmaid of the Night-Phantom
hath had union." [2]

[1] See L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery,* 1896; R. C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia,* 1913; S. Langdon, *Babylonian Magic,* 1914; E. Küchler, *Beiträge zur Kentniss der Assyrisch-Babylonischen Medizin,* 1904; F. von Oefele, numerous articles on *Keilschriftmedizin;* M. Jastrow, "The Medicine of the Babylonians and Assyrians," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine,* March, 1914.

[2] Thompson, I. p. xxvii.

Of these various demons an incantation says:

"Through the gloomy street by night they roam,
Smiting sheepfold and cattle-pen;
Shutting up the land as with door and bolt.
Rending in pieces on high, bringing destruction below,
They are the Children of the Underworld.
Loudly roaring above, gibbering below,
They are the bitter venom of the gods.
They are the great storms directed from Heaven,
They are the owls which hoot over a city.
Knowing no care, they grind the land like corn,
Knowing no mercy, they rage against mankind,
They spill their blood like rain,
Devouring their flesh and sucking their veins.
. . . . . .
They are demons full of violence,
Ceaselessly devouring blood." [3]

Different demons were the causes of different diseases. Aḫḫazu caused liver troubles; Ashakku, tuberculosis; Ti'u, headache; Labartu, the death of women or children in child-birth. One of the most curious tablets that has come down to us is the description of the way in which a devil known as "the toothache worm" obtained from the Creator permission to live in the teeth of men. It reads as follows:—

"After Anu had created the Heavens,
The Heavens created the Earth,
The Earth created the Rivers,
The Rivers created the Canals,
The Canals created the Marshes,
The Marshes created the Worm.
Came the Worm (and) wept before Shamash,
Before Ea came her tears:—
'What wilt thou give me for food,
What wilt thou give me for my devouring?'
'I will give thee dried bones,
(And) scented . . . -wood.'
'What are these dried bones to me,
And scented . . . -wood!

[3] Thompson, I. p. xlvi.

Let me drink among the teeth,
And set me on the gums;
That I may devour the blood of the teeth
And of their gums destroy the strength;
Then shall I hold the bolt of the door.'" [4]

When, as here, disease is caused by a specific being that takes up its abode in a particular tissue of the human body, we do not seem to be far away from the modern germ-theory of disease.

The ancient Sumerians believed that at certain times, or in certain places, one was peculiarly in danger of being entered by the demons. Contact with a dead body, or wearing the clothes of the dead, or intimate association with a man during the days that preceded his death, rendered one liable to obsession by his ghost.

"Whether thou art a ghost that hath come from the earth,
Or a phantom of night that hath no couch,
Or whether thou be one with whom on a day [I have eaten],
Or with whom on a day [I have drunk],
Or with whom on a day I have anointed myself,
Or with whom on a day I have clothed myself,
Or whether thou be one with whom I have entered and drunk,
Or with whom I have entered and anointed myself,
Or with whom I have entered and clothed myself,
Or whether thou be one with whom I have eaten food when I was hungry,
Or with whom I have drunk water when I was thirsty." [5]

Here there seems to be knowledge of the danger of contagious diseases. It was also observed that devils dwelt most frequently in places that had been abandoned by men:

"O evil Spirit, get thee forth to distant places,
O evil Demon, hie thee unto the ruins,
Where thou standest is forbidden ground,
A ruined, desolate house is thy home." [6]

[4] Thompson, II. p. 161.
[5] *Ibid.*, I. pp. 39, 43.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

Such spots were doubtless the seats of malaria, or of other germ diseases, and this was the reason why they had been forsaken by their original inhabitants.

b. The Abode of the Dead.—The Sumerian population of Babylonia had already reached a high stage of civilization before the Semites arrived on the scene. Primitive conceptions of the dead as resting with their kinsmen in the family grave the Sumerians had outgrown. They conceived of the shades as dwelling together in a mighty realm, and as socially organized after the manner of an ancient Babylonian kingdom.[7]

For this realm the usual Sumerian name is *Aralû,* of which the etymology is unknown. Its common Hebrew name is *Shĕôl,* of which also the meaning is uncertain. Jeremias and Jastrow think that *Shĕôl* appears in Babylonian as *Shu'âlu,* but this is denied by Jensen and Zimmern. Another Sumerian name is "Land of the Dead," or "Death." Still another name is "Earth." Thus in the epic fragment known as *Ishtar's Descent to Hades* (rev. line 5) we read, "Ishtar has gone down to the Earth, and has not come up."[8] In the *Gilgamesh Epic* (XII, iv, 1) Gilgamesh asks Enkidu after "the law of the Earth," meaning as the sequel shows, the nature of the other world.[9] Closely similar in meaning is the Sumerian word *Kigal,* 'Great Beneath,' or 'Underworld,' which passes over into Semitic as *Kigallu.* Since this region is regarded as a vast cavern, it is called *Naḳbu,* 'the Hollow,'[10] or 'the Hole of the Earth.'[11]

From these names it is evident that the ancient Babylonians regarded *Shĕôl* as situated in the depths of

[7] On the Babylonion conception of Hades see Jeremias, *Die babylonisch-assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* (1887); Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* (1890); Jeremias, "Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern," in *Das Alte Orient,* 1900, Part 3; Zimmern, in Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*[3] (1903); Warren, *The Earliest Cosmogonies* (1909).

[8] *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek,* VI. 87.

[9] *Ibid.,* 263.

[10] S. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Texts,* 16.

[11] *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek,* VI. 262.

the earth. One is said to "go down" to *Aralû,* or to "come up" from it. The gods of *Aralû* are also the gods who cause vegetation to spring out of the ground. When the Babylonian kings wish to describe the depth to which they carried the substructures of their mighty edifices, they say that they laid the foundations "on the breast of *Aralû*" or "of *Kigallu.*" The tower-temples of ancient Babylonia were regarded as counterparts of *E-kur,* 'the mountain house' or inhabited earth, and beneath these the dead were buried, to correspond with the way in which the shades dwelt beneath the abode of the living.[12] In the inscriptions the tops of these tower-temples are said to be as high as the mountains, and their bases as low as the Underworld. From these expressions it appears that the Babylonians regarded *Shĕôl* as a vast cavern under the ground, the subterranean counterpart of the space included between the earth and the celestial dome of the "firmament."

Shĕôl could be entered directly through a gap in the earth, but such a route was unusual. Ordinarily it was entered through a gate in the western horizon. The myths of the descent of Ishtar (Venus) and other astral deities indicate that the road to the Underworld was that followed by the celestial bodies. The west was the region of darkness and death, as the east was the region of light and life. A man haunted by a ghost prays, "Unto the setting of the sun may he go." [13]

The habitable earth was regarded as an island lying in the midst of the ocean; consequently, in order to reach the entrance of *Shĕôl* at the setting of the sun, it was necessary to cross the sea. In the *Gilgamesh Epic,* Gilgamesh, who has set out to seek his ancestor Ut(Pir Ṣit?)-napishtim, after crossing the Syrian desert and passing the mountains of Lebanon, reaches the shore of the Mediterranean, and inquires of a goddess how he

[12] Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands,* 465.
[13] King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery,* p. 119, line 19.

may cross the sea. She replies: "There has never been any ford, Gilgamesh, and no one who since the days of yore has arrived here has ever crossed over the sea. The sun, the hero, has crossed over the sea, but except the sun, who has crossed? Hard is the passage, difficult the way, and deep are the Waters of Death that lie before it. Where, Gilgamesh, wilt thou go over the sea? When thou comest to the Waters of Death, what wilt thou do?" Presently, however, she shows Gilgamesh where he may find a ferryman who will carry him over the waters. Together they make a forty-five days' journey to the western end of the Mediterranean. Then they enter upon the "Waters of Death," or the ocean beyond the straits of Gibraltar. After terrible perils they succeed in passing this, and land in the farthest west on the shore where Ut-napishtim dwells.[14] This ferry over the Babylonian Styx is alluded to also in an incantation, where the priest says, "I have stopped the ferry and barricaded the dock, and have thus prevented the bewitching of the whole world," *i.e.*, I have prevented the spirits of the dead from coming back across the ocean to molest men.[15] Because of this necessity of crossing the "Waters of Death" the Babylonian *Shĕôl* received the epithets *matnabalkattu,* 'land of crossing over,' and *irṣitu ruḳtu,* 'distant land.' In order to reach this land spirits of the dead assumed the form of birds and flew to their destination. In *Ishtar's Descent* (obv. 10) we read of the shades, "They are clothed like a bird in a garment of feathers."[16]

For the ancient Babylonians there were seven heavens presided over by the sun, moon, and the five planets. There were also seven stages of the tower-temple of the earth. In like manner *Aralû* was conceived as containing seven divisions separated by walls. These walls were pierced by seven gates, which had to be passed in suc-

[14] *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek,* VI. 217-23; Jensen, *Gilgamesch Epos,* 28-33.
[15] Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies,* 15.
[16] See p. 95; Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst* (1907).

cession by the goddess Ishtar before she reached the lowest depth *(Ishtar's Descent,* obv. 37-62). These gates were fastened with bars, and there was a porter who opened them to newcomers.

Shĕôl was primarily a cosmological conception, and had nothing to do with the grave as the abode of departed spirits, but the Babylonians were unable to keep the two ideas apart. The result was that *Shĕôl* was pictured as a vast tomb in which all individual tombs were included. The same ideogram was used both for grave and for *Aralû.* In the incantations the ghosts are said interchangeably to come forth out of the grave and out of *Aralû.* Everything that the heart delights in on earth is eaten by worms in the Underworld.[17] Hence the conception that *Shĕôl* is dark (in spite of the fact that the sun goes down into it). Thus in Babylonian one of its epithets is "dark dwelling." In *Ishtar's Descent* (obv. 7) it is called "the house where he who enters is deprived of light," and in line 10 it is said, "they see not the light, they dwell in darkness." [18] For the same reason *Shĕôl* is conceived as a place of dust. In *Ishtar's Descent* [19] it is said, "Dust is their food, clay their nourishment. . . . Over door and bar dust is strewn." [20]

The Babylonian *Shĕôl* is under the rule of the god Nergal or Irkalla (a personification of *Irkallu,* 'great city,' one of the names of *Aralû*), and his wife Ereshkigal, 'mistress of the Underworld.' In their service stand Namtâru, the death-demon, and a host of evil spirits who roam over the earth, afflicting men with all sorts of diseases and seeking to win new subjects for their masters. To the attacks of these demons man sooner or later succumbs. "He who at eventide is alive, at daybreak is dead." "The day of death is unknown,"

[17] *Gilgamesh Epic,* XII. iv. 7f.
[18] Cf. *Gilgamesh Epic,* VII. iv. 35.
[19] Obv. 9, 11.
[20] Cf. *Gilgamesh Epic,* XII. iv. 10.

but none the less it is certain; for it is "the day that lets no one go."

Two instances are known in Babylonian literature of persons who escaped death, and were translated to the abode of the gods. Ut(Ṣit? Pir?)-napishtim, the Babylonian Noah, after narrating the story of the Flood to Gilgamesh, concludes: "Bel went up into the ship, grasped my hands, and led me out, led out my wife also, and caused her to kneel down at my side. He touched our shoulders, stood between us, and blessed us, saying, 'Formerly Ut-napishtim was a man, now shall Ut-napishtim and his wife be like gods, and Ut-napishtim shall dwell afar at the mouth of the streams.' " [21] Adapa just missed immortality by declining the bread and the water of life,[22] which shows that it was considered possible for men to escape death. Such cases, however, were the rare exception.

Babylonian theology knows of a distinction in the fates of those who enter *Aralû*. One "rests in his chamber and drinks clean water"; another "eats what is left in the pot, the remnants of food that are cast out into the street." [23] When Ishtar incurs the wrath of Ereshkigal, the queen of the Underworld, Ereshkigal bids her servant Namtâru: "Shut her in my palace, loose upon her sixty diseases." [24] The *Gilgamesh Epic* [25] seems to speak of a judgment in the other world: "After the Watch-demon and the Lock-demon have greeted a man, the Anunnaki, the great gods, assemble themselves; Mammetu, who fixes fate, determines with them his fate; they establish death and life."

On this basis, Jeremias and Delitzsch [26] found the theory that the Babylonians distinguished a Paradise and a Hell in the Underworld. The facts do not justify this

[21] *Gilgamesh Epic,* XI. 198-204.
[22] *Adapa Myth,* II. rev. 24-34.
[23] *Gilgamesh Epic,* XII. vi. 1-12.
[24] *Ishtar's Descent,* obv. 68f.
[25] X. vi. 35-38.
[26] *Babel und Bibel,* 38ff.

view. In the passage which speaks of the different fates of the dead, the context shows that these fates depend, not upon moral distinctions, but upon the manner of burial. The one who "rests in his chamber and drinks clean water" is he who has enjoyed the honourable interment of a hero. The one who eats refuse is he "whose corpse has been cast out upon the field, whose ghost has no one to care for him." This is nothing more than a survival of the primitive animistic belief that the repose of the spirit depends upon the proper burial of the body. The "clean water" is not the "water of life," but the libation poured by a son upon the grave. The judgment pronounced by Mammetu and the Anunnaki is not a judgment upon character, that determines eternal life or eternal death, but is merely a decision whether or no a man is to die. Through severe illness his soul is brought down to the very gates of *Aralû,* and is greeted by the watchman; then the gods decide whether he is to remain in the Underworld or is to return to life. This explains the following line, "But the days of death are not revealed." So, after it has been decreed that Ishtar is not to remain in Hades, the Anunnaki are assembled to pronounce her release, and to sprinkle her with the water of life that she may return to the upper world.[27] The distinction in *Aralû* is merely one of relative comfort, it is not a distinction of place. In numerous passages the dead of all ages and all degrees are described as dwelling together in one common habitation. Thus in an epic fragment belonging to the Gilgamesh cycle the ghost of Enkidu says:

"In the house that I have entered, my friend, . . . crowns lie upon the ground. There dwell the wearers of crowns, who of old ruled the land, for whom Bel and Anu have appointed name and memory. Cold dishes are served up to them, and they drink water out of skins. In the house that I have entered, my friend, dwell Enu-priests and Lagaru-priests. There dwell enchanters

[27] *Ishtar's Descent,* rev. 37f.

and magicians. There dwell the anointed priests of the great gods. There dwell the heroes Etana and Ner. There dwells the queen of the Underworld Ereshkigal. There dwells Bêlit-ṣêri, the scribe-goddess of the lower world crouching before her." [28]

By the Babylonians *Shĕôl* was conceived as a land, a city, or a house, in which all classes of men dwelt together as on earth. Life went on much the same as in the upper world, only all was shadowy. This conception was simply a survival of primitive beliefs concerning the existence of the dead that were combined with the later doctrine of *Shĕôl*.[29]

When once a man had entered *Shĕôl* the Babylonians believed that it was impossible for him to return to life again. The Underworld was "the land of no return," [30] or "the enduring dwelling." [31] Its watchman, the "Lurker of Nergal," does not release when once he has seized a man.[32] Speaking of his friend Enkidu, Gilgamesh says: "My friend whom I loved has become like clay . . . Shall I not also like him lay me down to rest, and not arise for evermore?" [33] This denial that the dead can return means only that they cannot return to life, not that they may not leave *Shĕôl* to haunt the living, or to respond to the summons of a medium. The ancient belief in ghosts and in necromancy continued alongside of the belief in *Shĕôl*.[34]

Whether the Babylonians believed in the possibility of a resurrection is a disputed question. A number of gods, particularly Marduk, bear the title *muballiṭ mîtûti*, 'quickener of the dead.' In a hymn it is said, "He whose corpse has gone down to *Aralû* thou bringest back." [35] On the strength of these passages it has been claimed

[28] Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies*, 16.
[29] See pp. 6, 104, 169.
[30] *Ishtar's Descent*, obv. 1, 6, 41.
[31] *Ibid.*, rev. 31.
[32] *Gilgamesh Epic*, XII. iii. 18.
[33] *Ibid.*, VIII. v. 36f.
[34] See pp. 212ff., 226-231.
[35] King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, No. 2, 22.

that the Babylonians believed in a resurrection,[36] but the evidence is insufficient. All that this language means is that the god in question raises up to life a man who is sick unto death. According to the primitive conception, the soul left the body in illness, or in unconsciousness, and drew near to the Underworld. For a time it was doubtful whether it would remain with the shades or return to earth. The god who prevented its final separation from its body was called "quickener of the dead," but that there could be any resurrection after the body had been buried and dissolution had set in there is no evidence; in fact, this idea seems to be directly contrary to the statements just quoted that there is no return for one upon whom Mammetu and the Anunnaki have pronounced sentence of death, but only for one whose entrance to *Aralû* they postpone. The "water of life" that is guarded by the Anunnaki in *Aralû* does not serve to bring back the dead, but only to restore those who have gone down alive to *Shĕôl*. It is given to Aṣûshunamir, the messenger of the gods, that he may return to heaven; and is sprinkled on Ishtar that she may go back to the upper world.[37] Gilgamesh is washed with it that he may be cleansed from his leprosy,[38] and Adapa has it offered to him that he may attain immortality.[39] In these cases the dead are not restored to life, but the living are prevented from dying. The "water of life" is the divine counterpart of the holy water with which the priest sprinkled the sick man to keep the death-demons from dragging him down to *Aralû*. In only one passage is the possibility of a real resurrection suggested. When Ishtar is refused admission to *Aralû*, she says to the porter: "If thou openest not thy gate and I come not in, I will break down the door, I will shatter the bolt, I will break through the threshold and remove the doors, I will bring up the dead, eating, living; the

[36] Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI. 480.
[37] *Ishtar's Descent*, rev. 19, 34, 38.
[38] *Gilgamesh Epic*, XI. 254ff.
[39] *Adapa Myth*, II. rev. 26.

dead shall be more numerous than the living." [40] This seems to refer to a restoration of the dead to life. From this it follows that the Babylonians regarded it as possible for the great gods to empty *Aralû,* if they saw fit; but there is no evidence that they believed that this power would ever be exerted.

c. Deification of the Dead.—Names for spirits of the dead in Babylonian and Assyrian texts are regularly preceded with the determinative for 'god,' Sumerian *dingir,* Semitic *ilu,* the same etymologically as the Hebrew word *ēl,* 'god.' This shows that they were regarded as belonging to the class of superhuman beings, or "powers," just as in 1 Samuel 28:13 the ghost of Samuel rising out of the earth is called "a god." In the incantations they are often called "evil gods." An Assyrian king calls them "princes, spirits of the earth, gods who inhabit the grave."

The deification of dead kings in ancient Babylonia is peculiarly well attested. Some of these kings were already deified during their lives, and their worship naturally continued after their deaths. The first king of whom this is known with certainty is Naram-Sin of the dynasty of Agade (*c.* 2750 B.C.) who had the determinative for "god" prefixed to his name during his lifetime. The same was true of his successor Sargani-sharri (*c.* 2720 B.C.). The kings of the dynasty of Ur, namely Ur-Engur (2469 B.C.), Dungi (2451 B.C.), Pur-Sin (2393 B.C.), Gimil-Sin (2384 B.C.), and Ibi-Sin (2377 B.C.), were all canonized while alive, except Ur-Engur, the founder of the dynasty. The worship of these kings persisted under their successors, just like the worship of royal ancestors in China and in Egypt. In succeeding generations their names were used like names of gods to form proper names. Thus we find such names as *Dungi-ilu,* 'Dungi is god,' and *Dungi-bani,* 'Dungi

[40] *Ishtar's Descent,* obv. 16-20.

is my creator.' A large number of such names has been collected by Huber.[41] Dungi records that he built a temple for his father Ur-Engur, and a temple of Dungi is often mentioned. An officer of King Gimil-Sin records: "For Gimil-Sin, beloved of Enlil, the king, whom Enlil has chosen as his beloved, the mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters of the world, his god; Lugal-má-gúr-ri, captain of the fortress, patesi of Ur, his servant, built his beloved temple." [42]

d. Burial of the Dead.—The excavations that have been carried on in the mounds of Babylonia and Assyria show that the inhabitants of these lands exercised the greatest care in the disposal of the corpses of the dead. The poor were buried in ordinary great water-jars, lined with bitumen, about a metre in height. The well-to-do were buried in clay coffins shaped like a baby's bath-tub, also about a metre in length. In order to insert them into these small receptacles the bodies were doubled together or were divided through the middle. The coffins were frequently covered with wood and were enclosed in a tomb of unburned brick. The bodies were dressed in their best garments, and were provided with weapons, armour of bronze and iron, jewelry, bronze mirrors, and other toilet articles. With them were placed vessels containing food, drink, and ointments. Many of these vessels were the choicest specimens of the potter's art. Seals, cones, cylinders, and other written records were also added occasionally. All these customs indicate that the dead had need in the other life of these objects with which they were supplied by the piety of the survivors.[43] Herodotus, i. 198, narrates of the Babylonians: "They

[41] *Die Personennamen in den Keilschrifturkunden,* 1907.

[42] E. Thureau-Dangin, *Sumerische und Akkadische Königsinschriften,* pp. 200, 231, notes. For further information on this subject see S. A. Mercer, "Emperor-Worship in Babylonia," *Jour Amer. Oriental Society,* 1917, p. 360; S. Langdon, "The Cult of Deified Kings in Ancient Sumer," *Museum Journal, Univ. of Penn.,* 1917, p. 165; and *Proceed. Soc. Bibl. Archæology,* 1918.

[43] See J. P. Peters, *Nippur,* ii. 214-234.

bury their dead in honey, and have funeral lamentations like the Egyptians." [44]

e. Offerings to the Dead.—Among the Babylonians sacrifices and libations were offered periodically at tombs. The regular pouring out of libations of water was a duty that devolved upon the oldest son, or the legal heir, and that might not be neglected without incurring the wrath of the deceased.[45] In order to secure regular offerings to his spirit a Babylonian who had no son adopted one. Women also adopted daughters under similar circumstances. Thus in a tablet of the Cassite period [46] we read: "Ina-Uruk-rishat . . . had no daughter, therefore she adopted Eṭirtu. . . . So long as Ina-Uruk-rishat lives Eṭirtu is to show her honour. If Ina-Uruk-rishat dies, then shall Eṭirtu, as though she were her daughter, make libations of water for her." An ancient bronze tablet represents a dead man lying on a bier, with priests surrounding him, and an altar for burning incense near his head.[47]

Sacrifices to dead kings of the dynasty of Ur are often mentioned in the temple accounting-tablets and receipts, which have been found in such vast numbers at Drehem and Jokah in southern Babylonia. One of these tablets, for instance, reads: "One dead sheep for god Dungi, one for god Pur-Sin, one for god Gimil-Sin, one for god Gimil-Sin a second time: offerings at the festival. Conveyed on behalf of the house of the cattle. Month *pap-ú-e*, year when god Ibi-Sin became king." [48] A king of Assyria, whose name is missing, records how he celebrated the obsequies of his father, and closes with the words: "Gifts unto the princes, unto the spirits of the

[44] See G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i. p. 263 *sq.*, with notes on the burial customs of the Babylonians.
[45] Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia*, p. 559.
[46] Clay, *Documents Dated in the Reigns of Cassite Rulers*, No. 40.
[47] King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 39.
[48] See S. Langdon, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Archæology*, 1918, pp. 50-52.

earth, and unto the gods who inhabit the grave, I then presented." [49] King Ashurbanipal also records that he invoked the shades of his ancestors, and poured out libations in their honour: "The prescriptions for the sacrifices and the libations of water for the shades of the kings, my predecessors, which had ceased to be observed, I introduced afresh. To gods and men, to the dead and the living I did good." [50]

f. Exorcism of the Dead.—Besides the offerings which were designed to placate the dead and keep them from harming the living, there were other rites which were intended to drive away the ghosts when they became troublesome.

1. *Invocation of the Gods.*—As the chief helpers against the shades the gods were invoked to come to the aid of the sufferer. Since it was not known which of the gods would be the greatest help, it was customary to invoke all of them, not only the chief divinities of the Babylonian pantheon, but also many other minor deities who are known to us only from the magical texts.

2. *The Divine Prescription.*—In many of the texts, after the invocation of the gods, we read how the god Marduk is taught the proper remedy by his father Ea, the god of wisdom:

> "Marduk hath seen him (the sick man) and
> Unto the house of his father Ea hath entered and spoken:
> 'Father.'
> Twice he hath said unto him,
> 'What this man shall do he knoweth not,
> Whereby he may be assuaged.'
> Ea hath answered his son Marduk:
> 'O my son, what dost thou not know,
> What more can I give thee?
> O Marduk, what dost thou not know,
> How can I add unto thy knowledge?
> What I know thou knowest also.
> Go, my son Marduk.' " [51]

[49] King, *op cit.*, p. 49.
[50] M. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, ii. p. 250.
[51] Thompson, II. p. xxii.

Then Ea gives his son Marduk specific directions what to do for the recovery of the sick man. Thus the ceremonies of the priest come with divine authority and have sacramental efficacy. The priest who knows what Ea, the father, has revealed through Marduk, his son, comes to the patient as the representative of the gods. He says:

"The man of Ea am I!
The man of Damkina am I!
To revive (N.N.) the sick man,
The great lord Ea hath sent me;
He hath added his pure spell to mine,
He hath added his pure voice to mine,
He hath added his pure spittle to mine,
He hath added his pure prayer to mine." [52]

3. *Magic Rites.*—The directions which Ea gives Marduk for the cure are almost exclusively magic ceremonies. A common form is the provision of an animal into which the evil spirit may enter when it leaves the man. Thus in one text we read:

"Give the pig in his stead,
And give the flesh as his flesh,
The blood as his blood,
And let him take it;
Its heart (which thou hast set on his heart)
Give as his heart,
And let him take it." [53]

This reminds us of the story in Matt. 8:28-34 of how the demons went out of the man and entered into a herd of swine which they caused to rush violently down a precipice to destruction. Birds also were used, the idea being that the demons would enter into them and fly away with them when they were released. Thus one incantation reads:

"A raven, the bird that helpeth the gods,
In my right hand I hold;
A hawk, to flutter in thine evil face,

[52] *Devils and Evil Spirits,* Vol. I, Tablet III, 1, 65ff; II. p. xxv.
[53] Thompson, II. p. xxxiii.

In my left hand I thrust forward;
With the sombre garb of awe I clothe thee,
In sombre dress I robe thee." [54]

With this we may compare the ritual of the release of the bird in Lev. 14:4-7.

Demons could be transferred not only to living creatures but also to inanimate objects. With the proper ceremonies they could be induced to take up their abode in vessels of water, which then were broken, scattering their contents, and driving away their occupants. In one magical text we read:

"The evil Spirit (and) Ghost that appear in the desert,
O Pestilence that hast touched the man for harm,
The Tongue that is banefully fastened on the man,
May they be broken in pieces like a goblet,
May they be poured forth like water." [55]

Demons could also be induced to enter images of wax or of clay which were then destroyed. Thus we read:

"Go, my son (Marduk),
Pull off a piece of clay from the deep,
Fashion a figure of his bodily form (therefrom) and
Place it on the loins of the sick man by night,
At dawn make the 'atonement' for his body,
Perform the Incantation of Eridu,
Turn his face to the west,
That the Plague-demon which hath seized upon him
May vanish away from him." [56]

Another favourite magical act was the tying and loosing of cords. The tying represented the binding of the man by the demon, the loosing, the release from its clutches. Compare Luke 13:16, "Ought not this woman . . . whom Satan had bound, lo, these eighteen years, to have been loosed from this bond?" One direction of this sort reads:

[54] Thompson, I. p. 135.
[55] *Ibid.*, I. p. 151.
[56] *Ibid.*, II. p. 101.

"Weave thou a two-coloured cord from the hair of a virgin kid
and from the wool of a virgin lamb,
Upon the limbs of the king, son of his god, bind it." [57]

4. *Drugs.*—Drugs served originally a magical purpose, just as charms and spells. In the medical texts they are introduced with the same formula as the magical rites, and they are mingled with them. The theory that led to their use was either allopathic or homœopathic. Some drugs were so bitter or nauseous that they would drive out any self-respecting devil. This was allopathic treatment. Other drugs resembled the demons or the organs of the body, and therefore rendered them propitious and mitigated their attacks. This was homœopathy.

The allopathic remedies included all the nasty substances that the ancient Sumerians could discover. Among these are enumerated "a green frog, pestilence root with a claw of a black dog, a thorn plant with earth taken from the 'outer gate,' a green vegetable of some kind with the dust of a man's foot, swine's fat, swine's tail, dog's dung, the neck of a dog, the foot of a small insect, the fat of a serpent, excrement of man, and urine, the hair of a virgin goat, human bone." [58]

The homœopathic remedies included plants or roots whose fantastic forms suggested a resemblance to the demons of disease, or plants whose leaves, or roots, or fruits, resembled organs of the human body. The ginseng root has no medicinal value, still it is dug extensively in New England and exported to China, where it is highly prized as a remedy, because its grotesque forms are supposed to resemble various devils, and therefore to be a powerful aid in expelling them. We still find traces of this theory of medicine in some modern popular botanical names such as liver-wort, spleen-wort, blood-root, *etc.*

[57] Thompson, I. p. 101.
[58] Jastrow, *o. c.*, p. 158.

5. *Adjuration.*—When the gods had been placated, and the magic rites had been performed, and the magic drugs had been administered, the time had come for the solemn adjuration of the demon to leave the body of the sick man. Like all primitive peoples, the Sumerians believed in the magical power of the right form of words. The priest knew the proper ritual in the case of every disease; and when these words were uttered in connection with the prescribed ceremonies, the demon could not withstand their power, but must leave the body of the sufferer. In order to get control of the demon it was important that his name should be mentioned in the exorcism. As this was not always known, it was usual to enumerate every variety of devil so that no one might slip through by inadvertence. These exorcisms, accordingly, are valuable sources of information in regard to Babylonian demonology, they are a sort of "Who's Who in Hell." After the demons are enumerated, the usual formula of exorcism in Sumerian is *"ZI AN-NA KAN-PA ZI KI-A KAN-PA,"* or in Semitic translation *"Ina shame sibit ina irṣitim sibitma,"* that is, "By Heaven be thou exorcised, by Earth be thou exorcised." Other gods are invoked and other forms of exorcism are used. Then it is expected that sooner or later the demon will yield to the spell and leave the man.

In the adjuration to the demon a curious argument is often introduced. He is told that he shall have no food or water until he comes out. This is an allusion to the belief that the ghosts could not rest unless they received their customary food-offerings and libations. They have entered into the sick man because of lack of these offerings, and they are told that they shall not receive them until they go out again. Thus in one tablet we read:

"From the man, the son of his god,
Thou shalt have no food to eat,
Thou shalt have no water to drink,
Thou shalt not stretch forth thy hand

Unto the table of my father Bel, thy creator.
Neither with sea-water, nor with sweet water,
Nor with bad water, nor with Tigris water,
Nor with Euphrates water, nor with pond water,
Nor with river water shalt thou be covered." [59]

g. Necromancy.—The Babylonians and the Assyrians believed that it was possible by certain magic rites to call up spirits of the dead to answer questions or to injure enemies. The person who possessed this power was known as "raiser of the departed spirit." In the *Gilgamesh Epic* [60] we are told how Gilgamesh applied first to the god Enlil for help to bring up the ghost of his dead friend Enkidu (Eabani), but received no answer. He then applied to the moon-god, but equally unsuccessfully. Finally he applied to Enki (Ea), god of the ocean, the master of magic arts, and obtained his request.

"Father Ea heard his prayer,
Spoke to the mighty one, the hero Nergal,
Mighty one, hero Nergal, hear his prayer!
Open at once the hole of the earth,
Let the ghost of Enkidu ascend out of the earth,
Let him tell his brother the law of the earth!
The mighty one, the hero Nergal . . .
Opened at once the hole of the earth,
And the ghost of Enkidu ascended like a wind out of the earth."

Gilgamesh then says to Enkidu:

"Tell me, my friend, tell me, my friend,
The law of the earth that thou hast seen."

The whole narrative bears a striking resemblance to the account of the raising of the ghost of Samuel by the witch of Endor in 1 Samuel, chapter 28.

[59] Thompson, I. p. 61.
[60] Tablet xii. col. 3.

CHAPTER VIII

EARLIEST HEBREW CONCEPTIONS OF THE DEAD[1]

FROM the period prior to the conquest of Canaan no written records of the Hebrews have come down to us, nevertheless, by means of the science of comparative religion their earliest beliefs in regard to the nature and destiny of the soul may be determined with a high degree of certainty. When in the later writings of the Old Testament we discover conceptions that are identical with those of the other Semites and of primitive races throughout the world, we are justified in inferring that these are survivals from the earliest period of the religion of Israel.

a. The Distinction Between Soul and Body.—The early Hebrews, like all the other Semites, regarded man as composed of two elements, *basar, or* 'flesh,' and *nefesh,* or 'breath.' The *basar* was the material element that at death returned to dust. The same word was used for the "meat" of slaughtered animals. Men were called "flesh" and "all flesh" was used as a synonym for "mankind" to emphasize the transitory, perishable side of human life. The *nefesh* or 'breath' was an ethereal substance that inhabited the *basar.* It was identical with the life.[2] It was the seat of knowledge, appetite, emo-

[1] The most important works on Spiritism among the Hebrews are: Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1881), I, 387ff.; *Biblische Theologie* (1905), 185ff.; Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode nach den Vorstellungen des alten Israels* (1892); Frey, *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult im alten Israel* (1898); Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life* (1899); Grüneisen, *Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels* (1900); Guérinot, "Le culte des morts chez les Hébreux," *Journal Asiatique,* 1904, pp. 441-85; Lods, *La croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l'antiquité israélite* (1908); Margoliouth, "Ancestor-Worship (Hebrew and Jewish)," Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,* I, 444-50, 457-61; Torge, *Seelenglaube und Unsterblichkeitshoffnung im Alten Testament* (1909); Burney, *Israel's Hope of Immortality* (1909).

[2] Gen. 44:30 J; Ex. 21:23 E.

tion, and activity.[3] In composition with the pronominal suffixes *nefesh* had the meaning of 'self,' *e. g., nafshî,* 'my breath,' equals 'myself.' It resided in the blood, hence the commandment, "Be sure that thou eat not the blood, for the blood is the *nefesh,* and thou shalt not eat the *nefesh* with the flesh; thou shalt pour it upon the earth as water." [4] The heart as the chief receptacle of blood in the body was also identified with the *nefesh,* hence throughout the Old Testament "heart" is used interchangeably with "breath" where we should say "mind" or "soul." Death was caused by the departure of the "breath." [5] Resurrection was the return of the "breath" into the body.[6] *Rûăḥ,* 'wind,' was used in the early period practically as a synonym of *nefesh,* 'breath.'

b. The Continued Existence of the Disembodied Soul.—The early Hebrews, like the other Semites, believed that the *nefesh,* or 'breath,' persisted after death. The most ancient Hebrew tombs in Palestine contain precisely the same deposits that are found in other Semitic tombs, and bear witness to the same conception of immortality that was held by the other Semitic peoples.[7] *Nefesh* is used as the name of the disembodied spirit.[8] Belief in the continued existence of the dead is strikingly exemplified in the narrative of the appearance of the ghost of Samuel to Saul.[9]

c. Powers Retained by the Soul in Death.—The Hebrews believed that the dead retained a large measure of their former intellectual and emotional faculties. The shades are represented as rejoicing at the downfall of the king of Babylon.[10] Pharaoh is comforted when

[3] *E.g.,* I Sam. 2:16; Gen. 34:3 J; II Sam. 5:8.
[4] Deut. 12:23f.; *cf.* Lev. 17:10; Gen. 9:4.
[5] Gen. 35:18 J.
[6] I Ki. 17:21f.
[7] *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement,* 1904, pp. 328ff.
[8] Cf. Lev. 19:28; 21:1; 21:11; Num. 5:2; 6:6; 6:11; 9:6f.; 9:10; 19:11f.; Hag. 2:13.
[9] I Sam., chap. 28.
[10] Isa. 14:9f.

he sees the hosts of the dead that have preceded him.[11] Rachel mourns over the captivity of her children.[12] From Isa. 63:16 it appears that some of the nation believed that Abraham and Israel continued to care for their descendants. According to I Sam. 28:16-19, Samuel remembers his relations with Saul, and continues to feel concern in the welfare of Israel. The blood of murdered Abel cries to Yahweh from the earth,[13] that is, the soul that resides in the blood is conscious of the wrong done to it and demands vengeance. Compare Job 24:12: "From out of the cities the dead groan, and the soul of the slain crieth out"; also Enoch 9:10: "Now, behold, the spirits of the dead cry out, and lament even unto the gates of heaven"; and Rev. 6:9, where the souls under the altar cry out: "How long, O Master, the holy and true, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" A father's blessing or curse operates after his death because he himself sees to its fulfilment. Hence the exaggerated reverence for parents and the aged that we find among the ancient Hebrews.

In contrast to these passages, which ascribe to the dead a continuance of those powers of thought and feeling that they enjoyed on earth, another view appears in the later writings of the Old Testament, according to which the dead have lost memory, knowledge, and desire. This view, as we shall see more fully later, was a result of the conflict of the religion of Yahweh against primitive animism and ancestor-worship. The other conception, which ascribed to the dead large powers of thought and feeling, was, as comparative religion shows, the original Hebrew belief.[14]

d. Powers Gained by the Soul in Death.—The general Semitic belief in the superhuman powers of disembodied spirits was shared by the ancient Hebrews.

[11] Ezek. 32:31.
[12] Jer. 31:15.
[13] Gen. 4:10.
[14] Charles, *Eschatalogy Hebrew and Christian*, p. 41.

Ghosts, like gods, could take possession of stones or images. Heaps of stones were placed over the graves of Achan and of Absalom that their ghosts might remain in them and trouble Israel no longer.[15] A *maṣṣēbā,* or 'standing stone,' stood upon Rachel's grave 'unto this day.'[16] This was doubtless a *bêth-ēl,* or 'house of deity,' as were all the other *maṣṣēbôth.*[17] *Maṣṣēbôth* of this sort must have been the seats of cult of the dead, since no exception is made in their favour in the sweeping condemnation of later legislation.[18] The view of Stade, Schwally, Budde, Holzinger, Nowack, and Charles that the *teraphim* were images of ancestors cannot be demonstrated, but is nevertheless exceedingly probable in view of the facts that they were not images of Yahweh,[19] that they represented the human form,[20] that they were household gods,[21] and that they were used for obtaining oracles.[22] Etymologically the word may be connected with *rephaim,* 'shades,' or with Bab. *tarpu,* 'spectre.' It is interesting to note that Wisd. Sol. 14:15 connects the origin of idolatry with images of the dead.

Of the belief that spirits could take possession of animals we find no trace in the Old Testament, unless it be in the list of unclean beasts Lev., chap. 11, and Deut., chap. 14. It is noteworthy that the animals and birds here pronounced unclean are precisely those which the other Semites regarded as most often possessed by spirits. From Exod. 20:4 (cf. II Kings 18:4; Ezek. 8:10) we learn that the early Hebrews worshipped images of animals, which shows that they regarded animals as the abodes of spirits.

Of the idea that spirits could take possession of men, causing disease, insanity, or inspiration, a survival is seen

[15] Josh. 7:26; II Sam. 18:17.
[16] Gen. 35:20; *cf.* II Sam. 18:18.
[17] Gen. 35:14f.
[18] Exod. 23:24; 34:13; Lev. 26:1; Deut. 7:5; 12:3; 16:22.
[19] Gen. 35:2, 4, E; *cf.* 31:19, E.
[20] I Sam. 19:13, 16.
[21] Gen. 31:30, 34; Judg. 17:5; I Sam. 19:13, 16.
[22] I Sam. 15:23; II Kings 23:24; Ezek. 21:21; Zech. 10:2.

among the Hebrews in the fact that diseases such as leprosy rendered one ceremonially unclean. Being caused by rival spirits, they roused the jealousy of Yahweh, and excluded the sufferer from his cult. In later times they were ascribed to the activity of Yahweh himself, who thus absorbed the functions of the ancient lesser spirits;[23] but, with curious inconsistency, the diseases still remained unclean. The insanity of Saul was due to "an evil spirit from Yahweh that terrified him,"[24] and such insanity protected a man from injury, because, as in the modern Orient, he was regarded as inspired.[25] To stir up trouble between Abimelech and the Shechemites, God sent an evil spirit into them;[26] and in order that Sennacherib might depart, Yahweh sent a spirit into him.[27] In the developed Hebrew theology all extraordinary talents or powers were ascribed to possession by the spirit of Yahweh;[28] but this idea was due to absorption by Yahweh of the functions of originally independent spirits, as is shown by the survival in the Hebrew language of such expressions as "spirit of wisdom, spirit of might, spirit of jealousy, spirit of error, spirit of deep sleep."

Spirits of the dead possessed greater knowledge than living men. When the ghost of Samuel appeared to Saul, he predicted to him his impending death and the defeat of Israel.[29] Hence when these spirits took possession of men they induced clairvoyant powers. Such a possessing spirit was called *yidde'ônî,* 'the knowing one,' or as our version renders it, 'familiar spirit.'[30] Another name is *'ôbh,* the etymology and exact meaning of which are unknown.[31] Because of these superhuman powers

[23] Num. 12:10; I Sam. 25:38; I Kings 17:20.
[24] I Sam. 16:14.
[25] I Sam. 21:12-15; 24:7.
[26] Judg. 9:23.
[27] II Kings 19:7.
[28] Exod. 28:3; 31:3; Num. 27:18; Judg. 6:34; 11:29; 13:25; 14:6, 19; 15:14; I Sam. 11:6.
[29] I Sam. 28:19.
[30] I Sam. 28:3, 9; Isa. 8:19; 19:3; II Ki. 21:6; 23:24; Deut. 18:11; Lev. 19:31; 20:6; 27.
[31] I Sam. 28:7f.; Isa. 29:4.

the Hebrews, like the other Semites, applied to ghosts the name *ĕlôhîm,* 'gods.' [32]

The dead were believed to retain the semblance of their former bodies, and to be able to appear not only to one another but also to the living. The ghost of Samuel was recognized by Saul because he appeared as "an old man covered with a robe." [33] The kings of the earth still wore their royal apparel and sat on thrones in the other world.[34] The dead of all the different nations were recognizable by their features and their costumes. The warriors "had their weapons of war and laid their swords under their heads." The uncircumcised remained uncircumcised; those pierced with the sword still showed the fatal gash.[35] Hence wounded warriors committed suicide that they might appear in the other world to have died as heroes.[36]

In the Old Testament appearances of ghosts are rarely mentioned, because the religion of Yahweh was opposed to necromancy and the cult of the dead; still there is the classical instance of the raising of Samuel.[37] In post-biblical literature apparitions of the dead are more frequently mentioned. Thus in II Mac. 15:12-16 the high priest Onias and the prophet Jeremiah appear to Judas Maccabæus on the eve of the battle with the Syrians, and in Josephus [38] Alexander appears to his widow Glaphyra.

e. Powers Lost by the Soul in Death.—The Hebrews, like the other Semites, thought of the soul as losing its physical powers in parting from the body. For them it was only "breath" or "wind." The common name for ghosts is *rephaim,* 'feeble ones.' [39] In Isa. 14:10 the ghosts say: "Art thou also become weak as we?" In

[32] I Sam. 28:13.
[33] I Sam. 28:14.
[34] Isa. 14:9.
[35] Ezek. 32:21-32; cf. 28:10; 31:18.
[36] Judg. 9:54; I Sam. 31:4; II Sam. 17:23.
[37] I Sam., chap. 28; cf. Job 4:15.
[38] *Ant.* XVII, 13:4; *War,* II, 7:4.
[39] Job 26:5; Ps. 88:11 [10]; Prov. 2:18; Isa. 14:9; 26:19.

Ps. 88:4 the sick man says: "I am like to them that go down into the pit; I am as a man that hath no help." According to Isa. 59:10 they "grope as those that have no eyes, and stumble at noon as in the twilight." [40] Such statements show that the Hebrews inherited from their forefathers the general belief of primitive man in the shadowy, unsubstantial nature of disembodied souls.

f. The Abode of the Disembodied Spirit.—Among the Hebrews, as among the other Semites, the soul was believed to retain a close connection with its dead body. The corpse and everything connected with it rendered one who touched it taboo. Originally this was a sacred taboo due to the presence of the revered spirits in the body; subsequently, in consequence of the opposition of Yahwism to the cult of the dead, it was regarded as an unclean taboo.[41] The cult of the patriarchs and heroes that was carried on at their graves proves that they were supposed still to haunt their bodies. The voice of Rachel weeping for her children was heard in Ramah on the road between Bethel and Bethlehem where her body was buried.[42] Similarly, in Mark 5:5, the man possessed by the unclean spirit dwelt among the tombs. Injuries to the body were still felt by the soul. Job 14:21f., while denying that the dead man cares anything about his sons, yet affirms, "Only for his own body he feels pain, and for his own soul he mourns." Hence mutilation of the corpses of enemies was practised by the Hebrews as by other ancient peoples.[43]

Among the Hebrews there existed the same horror of remaining unburied that was felt by the other Semites. Fathers on their deathbeds solemnly charged their sons not to neglect the last rites.[44] When the prophet declared, "They shall not be gathered nor buried, they

[40] Cf. Ezek. 26:20f.
[41] *E.g.*, Num. 19:11 P.
[42] Jer. 31:15; Gen. 35:16-20.
[43] I Sam. 17:51ff.; 18:25, 27; II Sam. 4:12; 20:22.
[44] *E.g.*, Gen. 47:30.

shall be as dung upon the face of the ground," [45] this was a fearful curse. Still more terrible was the thought of being devoured by beasts.[46] So dreadful did it seem to refuse burial that this was accorded even to criminals,[47] or to those who committed suicide.[48] Only the bodies of foreign enemies, or of the most heinous offenders were left unburied,[49] or were burnt.[50] Violation of tombs and burning of their contents were regarded as terrible calamities.[51]

Not merely burial but also burial in the family grave was earnestly desired by the Hebrews. Jacob required of Joseph that he should bury him in the burying-place of his fathers.[52] Of nearly all the kings of Judah it is recorded that they were buried with their fathers in the city of David; hence the euphemistic expressions for burial, "gather unto one's fathers," "gather unto one's kin," "lie with one's fathers." Exclusion from the family tomb was a severe punishment.[53] All this shows that the Hebrews, like other ancient peoples, believed that the soul lingered with the corpse, and that by burial in the family tomb it enjoyed the fellowship of its relatives. This explains why offerings to the dead were placed either in or upon their graves. Hebrew tombs in Palestine contain the same sorts of deposits that are placed in the earlier Canaanite tombs, and offerings to the dead are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament.[54]

[45] Jer. 25:33; cf. Isa. 14:18f.; Jer. 22:19; 36:30.
[46] II Sam. 21:10; I Kings 14:13; II Kings 9:35ff.
[47] Deut. 21:22f.; Josh. 7:24-26.
[48] Josephus, *War*, III, 8:5.
[49] I Sam. 17:44; Ezek. 29:5.
[50] Isa. 30:33; Gen. 38:24; Lev. 20:14; Josh. 7:15.
[51] Am. 2:1; I Kings 13:2; II Kings 23:16, 20.
[52] Gen. 47:30; cf. 50:25; II Sam. 17:23; 19:37; 21:14.
[53] II Sam. 18:17; I Kings 13:22; II Kings 21:18; II Chron. 28:27.
[54] Deut. 26:14; Jer. 16:7; Ezek. 24:17, 22; II Chron. 16:14.

CHAPTER IX

BABYLONIAN INFLUENCE ON HEBREW CONCEPTIONS OF THE DEAD

In the previous chapter we considered those conceptions of the future life which the Hebrews held before their migration out of their primitive home in the Arabian desert. We must now consider the new elements that entered their eschatology in consequence of the conquest of Canaan.

The Canaanites were a Semitic people, closely akin to Israel; and their original beliefs concerning the soul, as archæology shows, were identical with those of the other Semites; but, as a result of long-continued Babylonian influence, these beliefs had undergone many important modifications during the two millenniums that preceded the Hebrew conquest.[1] Babylonian ideas of the other world were adopted by the Canaanites, and were passed on to the Hebrews who settled among them and amalgamated with them. As a result of this process the Old Testament contains not only primitive Semitic beliefs about the future life, but also another diverse cycle of ideas which goes back ultimately to a Babylonian origin.

The Hebrew conception of *Shĕôl* is in every particular the counterpart of the ancient Babylonian conception of *Aralû* as described in chapter vii. As among the Babylonians, so also in the Old Testament "Death" or "the Dead," is used frequently in poetic parallelism with *Shĕôl*.[2] As among the Babylonians, so also in the Old

[1] Paton, *Early History of Syria and Palestine*, chap. iv.
[2] *E.g.*, II Sam. 22:5f.; Hos. 13:14; Ps. 115:17.

Testament "Earth" is a frequent synonym of *Shĕôl.*[3] To the Babylonian conception of the "Great Beneath" corresponds the Hebrew *Ereṣ-taḥtîyā* (or *taḥtîyôth*), which our version renders "the lower part of the earth" but which more properly means "Lower Land" or "Underworld." [4] The Babylonian idea of "the Hollow" appears in the Old Testament in the name *Bôr,* 'the Pit,' [5] or the synonymous *Shaḥath.*[6]

As in Babylonia so also in the Old Testament one "goes down" or is "brought down" to *Shĕôl,*[7] and the sick man who barely escapes death is said to be "brought up" from *Shĕôl.*[8] How literally this language is meant is shown by the story of Korah and his company who "went down alive into *Shĕôl,*" [9] or Amos 9:2, which speaks of "digging into *Shĕôl.*" Isa. 7:11 speaks of "going deep unto *Shĕôl";* Isa. 29:4 of the shade as speaking "deep from the earth"; Isa. 57:9, of "descending deep unto *Shĕôl.*" *Shĕôl* is called the "under part of the earth," [10] and both *Shĕôl* and the Pit have the adjective "beneath" attached to them.[11] Ecclus. 51:5 speaks of the "depth of the belly of Hades." *Shĕôl* is lower than the foundations of the mountains.[12] Beneath the earth are the "waters under the earth," [13] but *Shĕôl* is lower than these.[14] The deepest thing conceivable is said to be "deeper than *Shĕôl,*" [15] and the depths of *Shĕôl* are often contrasted with the heights of heaven.[16]

[3] Exod. 15:12; Isa. 14:9; 29:4; Eccles. 3:21; see Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos,* p. 18.
[4] Ezek. 26:20; 31:14; 32:18, 24.
[5] Ezek. 26:20; 31:14, 16; 32:18, 23; Isa. 14:15, 19; 38:18; Ps. 28:1; 30:3; 40:2; 88:6; 143:7; Prov. 1:12; 28:17; Lam. 3:53, 55.
[6] Job 33:18, 24, 28, 30; Isa. 38:17; 51:14; Ezek. 28:8.
[7] Ps. 28:1; 30:3; 88:4; 107:26; 143:7; Isa. 14:19; 38:18; Ezek. 26:20; 31:14, 16; 32:18f.
[8] I Sam. 2:6; Jos 33:24, 28, 30; Ps. 9:13; 16:10; 30:3; 49:15; 86:13; Lam. 3:53, 55; Jonah 2:6; Wis. 16:13; Tob. 13:2.
[9] Num. 16:30-33; cf. Ps. 55:15; Prov. 1:12.
[10] Ps. 63:9; 139:15; Isa. 44:23.
[11] Deut. 32:22; Ps. 88:6; Lam. 3:55.
[12] Deut. 32:22; Jonah 2:6.
[13] Gen. 49:25; Exod. 20:4; Amos 7:4.
[14] Job 26:5; Lam. 3:53; Jonah 2:3f.
[15] Job 11:8.
[16] Job 11:8; Ps. 139:8; Isa. 7:11; Amos 9:2.

Like the Babylonians, the Hebrews believed that *Shĕôl* was ordinarily entered through a gate in the western horizon by which the sun, moon, and stars went down. In Enoch 22:1-4 the entrance to *Shĕôl* is described as lying in the distant west. The Hebrews conceived of the earth as surrounded by water, and therefore spoke of the "ends of the earth." To reach *Shĕôl* one had to pass across, or through the waters. II Sam. 22:5f. (=Ps. 18:4f.) reads: "The waves of Death compassed me, the floods of Belial made me afraid, the cords of *Shĕôl* were round about me, the snares of Death came upon me"; and Jonah 2:2-5: "Out of the belly of *Shĕôl* I cried . . . for thou didst cast me into the depth, into the heart of the seas, and the flood was round about me; all thy waves and thy billows passed over me. . . . The waters compassed me about, even to the soul; the deep was round about me; the weeds were wrapped about my head."[17] Deut. 30:12f. contrasts "crossing the sea" with "going up into heaven," and in Rom. 10:7 "crossing the sea" is interpreted as "descending into the abyss." Of the ferryman across the "Waters of Death" there is no trace in the Old Testament. Spirits are supposed rather to "fly away" to their abode.[18] The bird-like form assumed by the soul for its journey was a widespread belief of antiquity, and appears probably in the word "twitter" that is used of the voice of ghosts.[19]

The Babylonian conception of the seven divisions of Sheol is familiar to Jewish Theology.[20] They are first mentioned in II Esdras 7.80 ff., but the idea is certainly much more ancient. Prov. 7:27 knows of the "chambers of Death" and Isa. 14:15; Ezek. 32:23 of the "recesses of the Pit." The gates of Sheol are referred to in Job 38:17; Ps. 9:13; 107:18; Isa. 38:10; Wis. 16:13; Matt. 16:18; and their bars in Job 17:16; Jonah 2:6. The

[17] Cf. Job 36:16f.; Ps. 88:7; 107:26; 124:3-5; Lam. 3:54; Amos 9:2f.
[18] Ps. 90:10.
[19] Isa. 8:19; 29:4.
[20] Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, II, 328ff.

Greek text of Job 38:17 speaks of the "gatekeepers of Sheol."

The same confusion between the grave and Sheol that existed in Babylonia is found also in the Old Testament. Sheol and the grave are used interchangeably in a great number of passages.[21] Isa. 14:11 says, "Thy pomp is brought down to Sheol . . . the worm is spread under thee, and worms cover thee." Ezek. 32:17-32 speaks of all the nations as lying in graves in the midst of Sheol. Like the Babylonians, the Hebrews regarded Sheol as a place of darkness. In Job 10:21f. it is called "The land of darkness and of deep gloom, the land of thick darkness like darkness itself, the land of deep gloom without any order, and where the light is as darkness." [22] As among the Babylonians, so also in the Old Testament "dust" is a synonym of Sheol.[23]

The Babylonian belief in a king of Sheol who ruled over a host of malignant spirits is found also in the Old Testament. Sheol is frequently personified as a hungry monster opening its jaws to devour men.[24] It seems to have been worshipped as a deity by the Canaanites, to judge from certain place-names in Palestine.[25] Muth, 'Death,' was deified by the Phœnicians.[26] He appears in the Hebrew personal name *Aḥi-Môth,* 'Death is a brother,' and probably in several place-names. In the Old Testament Death is often personified and is used in parallelism with Sheol.[27] He appears as the ruler of Sheol in Ps. 49:14: "They are appointed as a flock for Sheol, Death shall be their shepherd"; and in Job 18:14: "He shall be brought to the King of Terrors." Another demon of the Underworld is apparently Belial (*Bᵉlîya'al*), which the scribes have fancifully vocalized

[21] *E.g.,* Gen. 37:35; Ps. 88:3, 5, 11.
[22] Cf. Job 17:13; 38:17; Ps. 88:6, 12; 143:3; Ps. of Sol. 14:19.
[23] Job 7:21; 17:16; Isa. 29:4.
[24] Isa. 5:14; Hab. 2:5; Jonah 2:2; Prov. 1:12; 27:20; 30:15f.
[25] H. P. Smith, in *Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper,* I, 55.
[26] *Ibid,* 61.
[27] Job 30:23; 38:17; Ps. 107:18.

as though it meant 'without use,' but which may mean 'the god who swallows' (*Bālī'ēl*).[28] Similar is the "destroyer" of Exod. 12:23, or the "destroyers" of Job 33:22. Diseases are often personified as the evil demons of Sheol: "Terrors shall make him afraid on every side, and shall chase him at his heels. His strength shall be hunger-bitten, and Calamity shall be ready at his side. It shall devour the members of his body, yea the First-born of Death shall devour his members";[29] "Shall I ransom them from the power of Sheol? Shall I redeem them from Death? Hither with thy plagues, O Death! Hither with thy pestilence, O Sheol!";[30] "The pangs of Death compassed me, and the pains of Sheol got hold upon me."[31] The death-angels of later Judaism are simply the degraded gods of the Underworld of an earlier period.

The inevitableness of Sheol was keenly felt by the early Babylonians, and similarly the ancient Hebrews said, "I go the way of all the earth";[32] "I know that thou wilt bring me to Death,and to the house appointed for all the living";[33] "What man is he that shall live and not see Death, that shall deliver his soul from the hand of Sheol?"[34] "Remember the sentence upon him, for so also shall thine be; yesterday for me, and today for thee."[35] Only a few Babylonian heroes escaped going down to Sheol by being translated to the gods. In the Old Testament we have the similar cases of Enoch[36] and Elijah.[37] Such translations were, however, so rare that they constituted no basis for hope that men in general would escape the common doom of humanity.

[28] Nah. 1:15; II Sam. 22:5 (=Ps. 18:5).
[29] *E.g.*, Job. 18:11-13.
[30] Hos. 13:14.
[31] Ps. 116:3; cf. II. Sam. 22:6.
[32] Josh. 23:14; I Kings 2:2.
[33] Job 30:23.
[34] Ps. 89:48.
[35] Ecclus. 38:22.
[36] Gen. 5:24.
[37] II Kings 2:11.

Like the Babylonian literature, the Old Testament knows of a distinction in the fate of the dead in Sheol. Ezek. 31:16 speaks of the kings of the earth as "the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon, that drink water and are comforted in the nether parts of the earth." Ezek. 32:23; Isa. 14:15, 19 speak of those who go down to "the recesses of the Pit" or the "stones of the Pit"; but in both of these cases their sad fate is not due to sin, but to the fact that they are "cast forth from the sepulchre like an abominable branch . . . as a carcase trodden under foot." Lack of burial prevented rest in Sheol, and lack of burial in the family tomb excluded one from the society of his relatives,[38] but there is no trace in the Old Testament of a division of the dead on the basis of character. The sinner is threatened with Sheol as a punishment, but never with a particular section of Sheol.[39] The righteous Samuel says to the wicked Saul, who has been rejected by the Lord, "Tomorrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me." [40] Jacob says, "I shall go down to the grave unto my son mourning," in spite of the fact that he supposes Joseph to have been devoured by a beast, and therefore to be unburied.[41] The Old Testament thinks far more frequently of the miserable lot of all the shades than of distinctions that exist among them. Isa. 14:9-23 and Ezek. 32:18-32 speak of all men of all races as dwelling together in Sheol, and Job 3:13-19 says:

"Now should I have lain down and been quiet; I should have slept; then had I been at rest, with kings and counsellors of the earth who built tombs for themselves, or with princes that had gold, who filled their houses with silver: or as a hidden untimely birth I had not been: as infants which never saw light. There the wicked cease from troubling; and there the weary are at rest. There the prisoners are at ease together; they hear not the voice

[38] See p. 239.
[39] *Cf.* Prov. 2:18; 21:16.
[40] I Sam. 28:19.
[41] Gen. 37:33, 35 J.

of the taskmaster. The small and the great are there; and the slave is free from his master."

The Babylonian laments over the impossibility of returning from Sheol find their echo in the Old Testament. David says, "I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me";[42] and the wise woman of Tekoa, "We must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again";[43] "As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away, so he that goeth down to Sheol shall come up no more. He shall return no more to his house, neither shall his place know him any more."[44]

Like the Babylonian literature, the Old Testament holds that in severe illness the soul leaves the body and begins its journey to the Underworld. Thus Job 33:19-22 says: "He is chastened with pain upon his bed, and with continual strife in his bones. His flesh is consumed away that it cannot be seen, and his bones that were not seen stick out. Yea his soul draweth near unto the Pit, and his life to the Destroyers." Similarly Ps. 88:3f.: "My soul is full of troubles, and my life draweth near unto Sheol. I am counted with them that go down into the Pit." Isa. 29:4 speaks of half-dead Judah as speaking like a ghost out of the ground. When Yahweh, like the Babylonian "Quickeners of the Dead," takes pity on the sufferer and restores him to health, he is said to bring him back from Sheol. Thus Hezekiah, when cured of his dangerous illness, says: "Thou hast in love to my soul delivered it from the Pit of Beli[al?]."[45] In none of these passages is a resurrection referred to, or even a blessed immortality for the disembodied spirit, but only a release from impending death. The doctrine of a resurrection of the body does not appear in the Old Testament

[42] II Sam. 12:23.
[43] II Sam. 14:14.
[44] Job 7:9f.; cf. 10:21; 16:22; Eccles. 12:5; Ecclus. 38:21; Wis. 16:14.
[45] Isa. 38:17; cf. I Sam. 2:6; Job 33:24, 28, 30; Ps. 9:13; 16:10; 30:3; 49:15; 86:13; Lam. 3:53, 55; Jonah 2:6; Wis. 16:13; Tob. 13:2.

until after the Exile, and therefore has no connection with ancient Babylonian beliefs. Three cases are recorded in pre-exilic literature of a raising of the dead to life. The first is Elijah's raising of the widow's son,[46] the second is Elisha's raising of the son of the woman of Shunem,[47] and the third is the raising of a dead man through contact with the bones of Elisha.[48] In all these cases apparent death had just occurred, but the body had not yet been buried, so that one may question whether the connection between soul and body had been completely severed. These restorations do not differ materially from the preceding instances in which the souls of the dangerously ill are brought back from the gates of Sheol. Pre-exilic literature does not know a single instance in which reanimation occurs after dissolution has set in.

From the foregoing study it appears that the Old Testament doctrine of Sheol is the counterpart in every particular of the Babylonian doctrine of Aralû, and there can be no doubt that, directly or indirectly, it has been derived from Babylonia. When we consider the fact that this belief appears in the earliest Hebrew literature we must assume that it was acquired soon after the conquest of Canaan; and that probably it was acquired from the earlier inhabitants of the land, who, as is known from recent archæological discoveries, had become thoroughly Babylonianized long before the arrival of the Hebrews.

[46] I Kings 17:21ff.
[47] II Kings 4:32ff.
[48] II Kings 13:21.

CHAPTER X

WORSHIP OF THE DEAD BY ISRAEL

THE mourning and funeral rites of the ancient Hebrews were closely similar to those of the other Semites, and have also many analogies in the customs of primitive and uncivilized races throughout the world. There can be no doubt, therefore, that they belonged to the earliest period of the religion of Israel. They all point to an original cult of the dead.

a. Removal of Garments.—As soon as death occurred, or news of it was received, the Hebrews "tore off" (A. V. "rent") their garments.[1] Originally, doubtless, the mourner remained naked as long as the funeral rites lasted; but, with advancing civilization, this was felt to be indecent; and therefore, after the garments had been torn off, sackcloth was usually girded on.[2] The "sackcloth" was merely a kilt of goat or camel's hair, such as had been worn by the forefathers in the desert. It was the nearest approach to nakedness that propriety would allow. Bare feet were unobjectionable, and therefore remained a sign of mourning down to late times.[3] In the post-exilic period the Jews were satisfied with merely tearing off the upper garment.[4] By the time of Christ the custom was conventionalized into a mere tearing of a small piece out of the robe, or a baring of the arm and shoulder.[5]

[1] Cf. Mic. 1:8, 11; Isa. 20:2.
[2] Gen. 37:34; II Sam. 3:31; I Kings 21:27; II Kings 6:30; 19:1; Esther 4:1.
[3] II Sam. 15:30; Ezek. 24:17.
[4] Ezra 9:3; Num. 14:6.
[5] Buchler, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* XXI, 81-92; Jastrow, "The Tearing of Garments as a Sign of Mourning," *Journal American Oriental Society,* XXI, 23.

The custom had a religious origin. The case of Saul, who stripped off his garments when he prophesied, and lay all night naked,[6] shows that in early times nudity was regarded as the proper condition for a seer. Even in later days the prophets wore the primitive skin apron ("hairy mantle").[7] Sandals were removed from the feet when entering holy ground.[8] Similarly one stripped one's self and removed one's sandals when mourning because one was about to take part in the cult of the dead.[9] This rite was forbidden to the high priest [10] as it was an act of worship to another deity than Yahweh.

b. Covering the Head.—The Hebrews had also the custom of covering the head or mouth, or laying the hand on the head as an act of mourning.[11] The most natural interpretation of this ceremony is suggested by Exod. 3:6; I Kings 19:13, where the prophets cover their heads in the presence of Yahweh so as to protect themselves from death if they looked upon him.[12]

c. Cuttings in the Flesh.—These are referred to by Jeremiah as established forms of mourning to which the prophet does not object.[13] In Lev. 19:28 they are associated with tattooed marks. The fact that they are prohibited by Lev. 19:28; 21:5, and Deut. 14:1 shows that they are known to be religious rites in honour of the dead. Lev. 19:28 states expressly that they are made "for a spirit." The interpretation of the custom is furnished by I Kings 18:28, where the prophets of Baal cut themselves in honour of their god.

d. Cutting the Hair.—In mourning the Hebrews shaved the head,[14] made a "bald spot between the

[6] I Sam. 19:24.
[7] II Kings 1:8; Zech. 13:4; Matt. 3:4; Mark 1:6.
[8] Exod. 3:5; Josh. 5:15.
[9] See Jastrow, "The Tearing of Garments as a Symbol of Mourning," *Jour. Am. Orient. Soc.*, XXI, 23ff.
[10] Lev. 21:10.
[11] II Sam. 13:19; 15:30; 19:4; Esther 6:12; Ezek. 24:17, 22; Mic. 3:7.
[12] Exod. 33:20.
[13] Jer. 16:6; 41:5; 47:5; 48:37.
[14] Mic. 1:16; Isa. 15:2; 22:12; Jer. 16:6; 47:5; 48:37; Deut. 21:12; Lev. 21:5.

eyes,"[15] or shaved off the beard.[16] In later times a little of the hair was plucked out as a ceremonial equivalent. This performance also must be interpreted as an act of worship to the dead. The hair of the nazirite was dedicated to Yahweh, and was presented as a sacrifice when his vow expired.[17] The prohibition of cutting the hair for the dead[18] shows also that it was regarded as a religious ceremony.

e. Covering with Dust or Ashes.—The Hebrews, when mourning, seem originally to have wallowed in the dust.[19] Subsequently they sat in the dust,[20] or put dust upon their heads.[21] The rite is evidently a symbolic act of communion with the dead.

f. Fasting.—Fasting usually lasted until the evening of the day of death.[22] When it was continued over a longer period, *e.g.*, seven days,[23] food was taken only after the sun had set, as in the Muhammadan feast of Ramaḍān.

g. Burial.—Immediately after death the eyes of the corpse were closed,[24] probably also the mouth, though this does not happen to be mentioned before the Mishna. The body was then washed,[25] anointed with perfumed oils,[26] dressed in its best attire, and bound up in the position of an unborn child, as we know from the remains in early Hebrew tombs in Palestine.[27] These customs are not mentioned in the Old Testament, but their antiquity is proved by the fact that they existed also among

[15] Deut. 14:1.
[16] Isa. 15:2; Jer. 41:5; 48:37.
[17] Num. 6:5, 18; Judg. 13:5; 16:17.
[18] Lev. 21:5; Deut. 14:1.
[19] Mic. 1:10; Jer. 6:26; Ezek. 27:30; Esther 4:3.
[20] Isa. 26:19; 47:1; 52:2; 58:5; Ezek. 28:18; Job 2:8; Jonah 3:6.
[21] Josh. 7:6; I Sam. 4:12; II Sam. 1:2; 13:19; Esther 4:1; Job 2:12; Lam. 2:10; Ezek. 27:30; II Macc. 10:25; 14:15; Rev. 18:19.
[22] II Sam. 1:12; 3:35; 12:21.
[23] I Sam. 31:13.
[24] Gen. 46:4.
[25] Acts 9:37.
[26] Mark 16:1; Luke 24:1; John 12:3, 7; 19:40.
[27] Cf. Matt. 27:59; Mark 15:46; Luke 23:53.

the Babylonians and the Arabs.[28] As in the modern Orient, the interment probably took place in the evening of the day of death, which explains why fasting usually lasted until the evening.[29] The body was carried to the grave on a bier,[30] and coffins were unknown in the early period. The poor were laid on the ground, or in a shallow trench, and were covered with a mound of earth. The rich were buried in caves or in artificial tombs that they had hewn out for themselves during their lifetime.[31] In pre-exilic days these tombs were entered by holes in the roofs, and the dead were deposited one above the other in layers on the floor.[32] On the importance attached to burial in the family tomb see pp. 238, 245. With the dead were deposited food and drink, pottery, lamps, implements, weapons, ornaments, amulets, and images of various sorts.[33] Many of the articles were broken, the idea being doubtless to liberate their spirits so that they might join the spirit of the dead.

h. The Sanctity of Tombs.—The Book of Genesis and the other early historical books record the burial places of the forefathers with the same interest that they show in tracing the origin of the numerous holy springs, holy trees, holy mountains, and holy stones. That they enjoyed a similar sanctity is proved by numerous references to them as seats of worship. At Hebron, the burial place of Sarah and Abraham,[34] the chiefs made a covenant [35] and Absolom paid his vows.[36] It was a "city of refuge" [37] and a city of the priests.[38] According to Sozomen,[39] religious rites were kept up here as late as

[28] King, *Babylonian Religion,* pp. 48ff.; Wellhausen, *Reste,*[2] p. 178.
[29] II Sam. 1:12; 3:35; 12:21; cf. Deut. 21:23.
[30] II Sam. 3:31.
[31] Gen. 23:9; II Kings 23:16; Isa. 22:16.
[32] *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement,* 1904, pp. 328ff.
[33] *Ibid.,* pp. 332-35.
[34] Gen. 23:19; 25:9.
[35] II Sam. 5:3.
[36] II Sam. 15:7, 12.
[37] Josh. 20:7.
[38] Josh. 21:11.
[39] *Histor. eccl.,* II, 4.

Christian times. The Ḥaram, or 'sanctuary,' that covers the supposed cave of Machpelah is still one of the chief holy places of Islam, and Jews come thither from all parts of the world to pray to Abraham and Sarah. At Ramah, the burial place of Rachel,[40] there was a holy stone upon her grave. On the grave of Deborah below Bethel there stood a tree known as *Allôn-bākhûth,* 'the holy tree of weeping.' [41] The burial place of Miriam was *Ḳadesh,* 'the sanctuary.' [42] Shechem, the burial-place of Joseph,[43] was the site of a holy tree called "the oak of the oracle," or "the oak of the diviners," [44] of a holy stone,[45] of an altar [46] and of a temple.[47] It was also a city of refuge.[48] Of similar character as sanctuaries were probably the graves of the heroes Tola,[49] Jair,[50] Ibzan,[51] Elon,[52] and Abdon.[53]

The Book of Kings records with equal care the burial places of the kings of Judah. Ezek. 43:7-9 shows clearly that in his day these were seats of worship. The words "whoredom" and "abomination" that he applies to them are the ones that are commonly used by the prophets for the cult of strange gods. Isa. 65:3f. speaks also of people who provoke Yahweh to his face continually, "who dwell among the graves and lodge in the vaults."

The "uncleanness" of graves in the later Hebrew religion is additional proof that originally they were places of worship. Among ancient peoples everything connected with death was "taboo," *i.e.,* it could not be touched with-

[40] Gen. 35:19; I Sam. 10:2; Jer. 31:15.
[41] Gen. 35:8.
[42] Num. 20:1.
[43] Josh. 24:32.
[44] Gen. 12:6; Deut. 11:30; Judg. 9:37.
[45] Josh. 24:26f.
[46] Gen. 12:7; 22:9.
[47] Judg. 9:4, 46.
[48] Josh. 20:7.
[49] Judg. 10:1f.
[50] Judg. 10:3-5.
[51] Judg. 12:8-10.
[52] Judg. 12:11f.
[53] Judg. 12:13-15.

out falling under the influence of a spirit.[54] Among the Semites the word for taboo was *ḳādhôsh,* which we commonly render "holy." Into the religion of Yahweh many ancient Semitic taboos were taken up, and continued to be regarded as "holy." Other taboos were felt to belong to inferior spirits or to rival gods, and were now pronounced "unclean." Thus foreign rites make Yahweh's land "unclean," [55] and alien worship makes the Temple "unclean." [56] Now, as we have just seen, the graves of the patriarchs and heroes were at first regarded as "holy," and were favourite places of sacrifice. Archæology shows that in pre-exilic times the dead were buried without hesitation within the city walls or even in houses,[57] but in later literature dead bodies and graves render anyone who touches them ceremonially "unclean." [58] Bones of the dead defile the altar of Yahweh.[59] This change from "holy" to "unclean" can be explained only as due to a growing consciousness that the ancient sanctity of tombs was inconsistent with the sole authority of Yahweh. Hence corpses and everything connected with them were placed under a ban. That this is the correct interpretation of the taboo is shown (1) by the fact that it is called "uncleanness for a spirit" (*nefesh*),[60] which shows that the uncleanness does not come from the corpse but from the spirit associated with it; (2) by the fact that priests, who are specially connected with the worship of Yahweh, are allowed to "defile themselves for a spirit" only in a few exceptional cases,[61] and that nazirites are not allowed to defile themselves at all.[62]

[54] Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion,* chap. vi.
[55] Jer. 2:7, 23; 3:2, 9; Ezek. 36:18.
[56] Jer. 7:30; Ezek. 43:7, 9.
[57] *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement,* 1902, p. 347. This custom is also attested by I Sam. 25:1; 28:3; I Kings 2:10, 34; 11:43; 14:31, etc.; II Kings 21:18, 26; Ezek. 43:7f.
[58] Deut. 26:14; Ezek. 43:7f.; Num. 19:11; Matt. 23:27.
[59] I Kings 13:2; II Kings 23:14, 16, 20.
[60] Lev. 21:1, 11; 22:4; Num. 5:2; 6:6, 11; 9:6f., 10; 19:11f.; Hag. 2:13.
[61] Lev. 21:1-4, 11.
[62] Num. 6:6.

i. Sacrifice to the Dead.—Among the Hebrews the persistence of sacrifice to the dead down to a late time is attested by the confession in Deut. 26:14, "I have not given thereof for the dead." According to Josephus,[63] the tomb of David was filled with treasures; and according to II Chron. 16:14, Asa's tomb was filled with sweet odours and spices, and they made a very great burning for him. This was the usual custom at the burial of kings.[64] Ps. 106:28 declares of the forefathers, "They ate the sacrifices of the dead." Tob. 4:17 commends offerings to the dead: "Pour out thy bread on the tomb of the just"; and similarly Ecclus. 7:33: "A gift hath grace in the sight of every living man, so from a dead man keep not back grace." [65] Others mention the cult of the dead as practised in their day, but regard it as useless and wicked.[66] In later Judaism the saying of the *Ḳaddish* by the oldest son takes the place of the ancient sacrifices.[67]

The existence of sacrificial funeral feasts among the Hebrews is attested by Jer. 16:7: "Neither shall men break bread for a mourner to comfort him for the dead, nor shall one give him the cup of consolation to drink on account of his father or his mother"; also by Ezek. 24:17 (emended text), "Eat not the bread of mourning." Since eating these offerings involved participation in the worship of another god than Yahweh, it rendered one "unclean." [68]

Among the Hebrews the duty of bringing sacrifices and libations rested upon the oldest son. Hence the double portion given to the firstborn.[69] Childlessness was regarded as the greatest possible misfortune,[70] and the proper blessing for a bride was, "Be thou the mother

[63] *Ant.*, XIII, 8, 4; XVI, 7, 1; *War*, I, 2, 5.
[64] Jer. 34:5; II Chron. 21:19.
[65] Cf. II Macc. 12:42ff.
[66] Ecclus. 30:18 (in the Greek); Ep. Jer., vss. 31f.; Wisd. 14:15; 19-3; Sibylline Oracles, viii. 382-384; Jubilees, 22:17.
[67] Margoliouth, Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 459.
[68] Hos. 9:4; Deut. 26:14.
[69] Deut. 21:15ff.
[70] Gen. 30:1; I Sam. 1:5f.

of thousands of ten thousands." [71] Yahweh punished men even in the other world by cutting off their posterity,[72] and victors destroyed an enemy's children in order that his ghost might receive no offerings. If a man had no sons by his first wife, he took a second wife, or his wife gave him her female slaves as concubines.[73] If these means failed, a slave, or some person outside of the family, was adopted as a son, and was given the inheritance on condition that he kept up the ancestral rites.[74] If this device also failed, the nearest male relative of the deceased was required to take his widow and raise up seed for him.[75] This painful anxiety to secure a son is explainable only by the desire to obtain after death those gifts without which one's soul could not rest.

j. Prayer to the Dead.—Among the Hebrews the lament was a regular and important part of the funeral ceremonies.[76] In it the members of the family were assisted by professional mourning men and women.[77] These people had a stock of laments adapted to various occasions that they chanted before the corpse. In the case of important persons special dirges were composed.[78]

Some lamentations are doubtless to be regarded as natural expressions of grief, but this will not explain official mournings in which the entire nation took part.[79] The only tenable theory is that such laments were acts of homage paid to the departed. This view is confirmed by the following facts: (1) the Hebrew laments, like those of the ancient Arabs, were always addressed to the dead;[80] (2) similar laments were customary in the

[71] Gen. 24;60.
[72] Exod. 20:5; 34:7; Num. 14:18; Deut. 5:9.
[73] Gen. 16:1f.
[74] Gen. 15:2f.
[75] Gen. 38:16; Deut. 25:5; Ruth 2:20; 3:13; 4:5.
[76] Gen. 23:2; Deut. 21:13; II Sam. 19:4; I Kings 13:30; II Kings 13:14; Jer. 16:6; 22:10, 18; 34:5; Ezek. 24:16; Acts 9:39.
[77] II Chron. 35:25; Jer. 9:17f.; Am. 5:16.
[78] II Sam. 1:17; 3:33.
[79] *E.g.*, Gen. 50:7-10; Deut. 34:8; Num. 20:29; Judg. 11:40; I Sam. 25:1; 28:3; II Sam. 1:12; 3:32; Zech. 12:10-14.
[80] Cf. II Sam. 1:26; 3:34; Jer. 22:18; 34:5.

worship of the gods;[81] (3) lamentation, like other acts of mourning, was repugnant to Yahweh as part of the cult of rival divinities.[82] Isa. 63:16, "Thou art our father, though Abraham knoweth us not, and Israel doth not acknowledge us," seems to imply invocation of the patriarchs by some at least of the nation. This cult has not completely died out even from modern Judaism.

Necromancy is a form of invocation of the dead. It was common in the time of Saul, although it was regarded as inconsistent with the religion of Yahweh.[83] Isaiah still had reason to denounce it: "When they say unto you, Consult the ghosts and the familiar spirits that gibber and moan, give this answer: Should not a people rather consult its God? On behalf of the living, should men consult the dead?" [84] This practice flourished in the time of Manasseh,[85] and Josiah made an effort to abolish it.[86] It seems to be mentioned also in Isa. 57:9; 65:4. The prohibition of necromancy by Deuteronomy [87] and by the Holiness Code [88] shows that it was common in the latter days of the monarchy, but that it was regarded by the religious leaders of the nation as irreconcilable with the exclusive worship of Yahweh.

From the foregoing survey it appears that the earliest Hebrew beliefs in regard to the soul were identical with those of the other Semites, and that the cult of the dead was one of the most ancient and most firmly intrenched forms of religion among the Hebrews. The religion of Yahweh encountered no more formidable rival, and centuries of conflict were necessary before it was finally overcome.

[81] Cf. Judg. 11:40 with Ezek. 8:14; Zech. 12:11.
[82] Deut. 26:14; Hos. 9:4; Am. 6:10.
[83] I Sam. 28:7-9.
[84] Isa. 8:19; cf. 19:3; 28:15, 18; 29:4.
[85] II Kings 21:6.
[86] II Kings 23:24.
[87] Deut. 18:11.
[88] Lev. 19:31; 20:6, 27.

CHAPTER XI

EARLY OPPOSITION TO WORSHIP OF THE DEAD BY ISRAEL

In chapter VIII attention was called to the conception of the soul which the Hebrews inherited from their Semitic forefathers. In chapter IX it was shown how, through the conquest of Canaan, the Babylonian doctrine of Sheol was superimposed upon the ancient belief in spirits. We must now consider how this inheritance of animistic ideas from pre-Mosaic times was affected by the religion of Yahweh.

a. The Primitive Conception of Spirits Was Unaffected by Early Yahwism.—The Mosaic doctrine of God was not monotheism but monolatry. It did not say, "Thou shalt not *believe* that there are other gods," but "Thou shalt *have* no other gods besides me." The god of Moses bore the personal name Yahweh, which shows that he was only one of a class of supernatural beings. All the divinities of primitive Semitic heathenism were still regarded as real persons, only Israel was forbidden to worship them.[1] In the same way belief in the existence of spirits of the dead was left undisturbed by the religion of Yahweh. All the animistic conceptions held by the primitive Semites in common with other ancient peoples were incorporated bodily into the Hebrew religion, and remained unchanged down to the times of the prophets. Mosaism had no new eschatology of the individual; it simply accepted the ideas that it found on the ground. For this reason there is nothing new in the pre-prophetic period to add to the account of the earliest Hebrew con-

[1] Cf. Exod. 15:11; Judg. 11:24; I Kings 11:33; II Kings 1:2f.; 3:27; Deut. 4:19; 29:26; 32:8 in the Greek.

ceptions of the soul that has been given in the preceding chapters.

b. The Worship of Spirits Was from the First Forbidden by Yahweh.—The God whom Moses proclaimed did not deny the existence of other gods, but he did deny their right to receive the worship of Israel. The commandment "Thou shalt have no other gods besides me," which the Deuteronomic Decalogue [2] places at the head of Yahweh's fundamental requirements, stands also at the head of the original Book of the Covenant, which has been preserved by J in Exod. 34:14 and by E in Exod. 21:23. It is universally conceded that this was one of the doctrines of primitive Mosaism. In like manner, although Yahweh did not deny the existence of spirits of the dead, worship of them in any form whatsoever he sternly prohibited. By the ancient Hebrews the shades were known as *ĕlôhîm,* 'gods,' [3] and received all the acts of homage that were paid to other divinities;[4] consequently they were included in the general prohibition of the worship of other gods that lay at the foundation of the Mosaic religion. Yahweh was "a jealous God," who would not tolerate the cult of ancestors, heroes, or other spirits, any more than he would tolerate the cult of the nature gods, tribal gods, or any of the other *bᵉʿālîm* of the Semitic world.

With the first proclamation of Yahweh the doom of ancestor-worship was sealed; but, as was to be expected, a long conflict was necessary before it was finally eradicated from Israel. This form of religion was firmly established among the Hebrews in pre-Mosaic times, and the conquest of Canaan tended only to confirm it. As the Book of Judges and the early prophets repeatedly inform us, "Israel served the *bᵉʿālîm,*" and among these *bᵉʿālîm* were the ancestors and heroes who from time immemorial had been worshipped in Canaan.

Gradually, however, the true genius of the Mosaic

[2] Deut. 5:7; Exod. 20:3.
[3] I Sam. 28:13.
[4] See p. 254ff.

religion asserted itself. Through the efforts of the nazirites, Levites, judges, seers, and other religious enthusiasts, Yahweh finally triumphed over spirits of the dead as well as over the other *b*^{e}*'ālîm*. By the beginning of the period of the monarchy his victory was complete; the local divinities were no longer worshipped by the majority of the nation, and the supreme authority of Yahweh was recognized in all parts of the land. From I Sam. 28:9 it appears that Saul, who owed his throne to the choice of Yahweh,[5] and who had himself received the spirit of Yahweh,[6] made an effort to exterminate those who had familiar spirits and necromancers; and was so successful that, when, toward the close of his reign, he wished to consult a medium, he had difficulty in finding one. The fact that this medium was a woman shows that invocation of the dead was already discredited in Israel. Dying superstitions usually linger among women after they have been abandoned by men. The commandment of the Book of the Covenant, "Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live," [7] is also directed against necromantic arts; and, if the text be sound, shows that these survived chiefly among women. The protestation of the bringer of the tithe in Deut. 26:14, "I have not given thereof for the dead," is probably a fragment of a liturgy that is far older than Deuteronomy, and the prohibitions of necromancy in Deut. 18:11 and the Holiness Code [8] are also survivals of ancient legislation. It was, therefore, no new doctrine that Isaiah taught: "When they say unto you consult the ghosts and the familiar spirits that gibber and moan, give this answer: Should not a people rather consult its God? On behalf of the living, should men consult the dead?" [9]

c. Yahweh Appropriated the Functions of the Dead.

[5] I Sam. 10:1.
[6] I Sam. 10:10; 19:23.
[7] Exod. 22:18.
[8] Lev. 19:31; 20:6, 27.
[9] Isa. 8:19.

—The method by which Yahweh triumphed over the *b^{e}'ālîm* of Canaan was not by destroying them but by absorbing them. The name *ba'al* became a synonym of Yahweh, and the *b^{e}'ālîm* were regarded as his local manifestations. The ancient shrines of the land became his shrines, and the legends connected with them were retold as stories of his dealings with the patriarchs. The agricultural ritual and the harvest festivals of the *b^{e}'ālîm* were reconsecrated to his service.[10]

The same process is seen in Yahweh's relation to spirits of the dead. He conquered them by assuming their functions and claiming their rites. Oracular indication through physical objects became his work in the sacred lot of Urim and Thummim.[11] Disease and insanity were now ascribed to his activity.[12] Genius and inspiration of every sort were traced to the operation of his spirit.[13] The revealing of the future through prophets became his exclusive prerogative. It was only when he refused to answer Saul by dreams, or by Urim, or by prophets, that Saul was constrained to seek the help of inferior spirits. The avenging of shed blood was now assumed by him.[14] Violation of tombs was an affront to him.[15] Care for the widow and orphaned children became his responsibility.[16] The fulfilment of a father's blessing or curse became his concern.[17]

d. Yahweh Appropriated the Cult of the Dead.— The shrines of Canaan that had formerly been consecrated to the cult of the dead were now, like the high places of all the other *b^{e}'ālîm,* appropriated by Yahweh. The tombs of Sarah and Abraham, of Israel, of Rachel, of Deborah, of Joseph, of Miriam, and of numerous local

[10] See Paton, *The Early Religion of Israel,* (1910), chap. v.
[11] I Sam. 14:41; 28:6; Deut. 33:8.
[12] Num. 12:10; I Sam. 16:14; 25:38; I Kings 17:20.
[13] Exod. 28:3; 31:3; Num. 27:18; Judg. 6:34; 11:29; 13:25; 14:6, 19; 15:14; I. Sam. 11:6.
[14] Gen. 4:11ff.; II Sam. 21:1f.; Deut. 21:1-9.
[15] Amos 2:1.
[16] Exod. 20:6; 22:22.
[17] Gen. 9:25-27; 27:27-29, 39-40; 49:2-27.

heroes, became his sanctuaries, and their holiness was now explained as due, not to the fact that the forefathers were buried there, but that they had been the scenes of his manifestation in the past. Far from being "unclean" in early times graves were places of peculiar sanctity, near which it was most fitting that Yahweh should be worshipped. Caves owed their holiness to the fact that they were used as places of burial,[18] and it is noteworthy that the original sanctuary of Yahweh at Sinai was a cave.[19] The dark holy of holies of Solomon's temple, with its anteroom, in which a lamp was kept burning and bread and incense were offered, was the counterpart of an ancient Canaanite tomb. The holy trees, standing stones, and altars that stood beside the graves of ancestors were all reconsecrated to the worship of Yahweh.[20]

Sacrifice is a rite that has meaning only in the cult of the dead. The blood, in which the life of the animal resides, is poured out in order that the shades may drink of it and renew their vigour. Offerings of food and drink are not needed by celestial deities, but are needed by spirits of the dead, and have been offered to them from the earliest times. It can hardly be doubted that bloody offerings and libations first arose in connection with ancestor-worship, and were afterward extended to the cult of other divinities with whom they had no natural connection. Their primitive association with the dead is shown by the fact that the blood of the victim was always poured upon the earth, so that it might sink down to the Underworld. In many ancient tombs channels were constructed through which blood and libations descended to the buried person. In like manner the old Arabian altar had a *ghabghab,* or pit, beneath it into which blood was poured and offerings were thrown. All such sacrifices and libations for the dead were appropriated by Yahweh.

[18] Cf. Gen. 23:9.
[19] Exod. 33:22; I Kings 19:8f.
[20] Gen. 12:6f.; 22:9; 35:8, 20; Deut. 11:30; Josh. 24:26f.; Judg. 9:4, 37, 46.

The blood of the slain animal was still poured upon the ground,[21] although it was no longer offered to the gods of the Underworld. Beneath the altar of Solomon's temple was a channel cut out in the rock to receive the blood, and Elijah dug a trench for the blood around the altar that he constructed on Carmel; yet the sacrifices in both of these cases were rendered to Yahweh. The ritual of the red heifer in Num., chap. 19, bears clear evidence of having been borrowed from the cult of the dead.[22] The same is true perhaps of the goat for Azazel,[23] and of a number of other sacrificial rites that have found a place in the official religion of post-exilic Judaism. From this it appears that everything that was clearly connected with the worship of the dead was already in the pre-prophetic period claimed by Yahweh as his due.

e. Rites of the Dead That Were not Clearly Acts of Worship Were Still Permitted, but They Rendered One Unclean.—Burial, and such customs as tearing off the garments, girding on sackcloth, covering the head, making cuttings in the flesh, cutting the hair, covering oneself with dust or ashes, lamentation and fasting [24] had lost much of their primitive religious significance as early as the pre-prophetic period, and seemed to be merely acts of mourning; consequently these were tolerated by the early Hebrew religion, and no effort was made to take them away from the dead. At the same time it was felt that these ceremonies were in a way connected with "other gods," and therefore rendered one "unclean," *i. e.*, debarred one from taking part in the public worship of Yahweh. Hosea, speaking of the exiles in Egypt and in Assyria, says: "Their sacrifices shall be unto them as the bread of mourners; all that eat thereof shall be polluted," [25] and Amos (6:10) says that it is not per-

[21] Exod. 29:12; Lev. 4:7, 18; 17:13; Deut. 12:16.
[22] H. P. Smith, in *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1909.
[23] Lev. 16:26.
[24] See pp. 248ff.
[25] Hos. 9:4.

mitted to make mention of the name of Yahweh when bringing a corpse out of a house. In Deut. 26:14 the bringer of the tithe says: "I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I put away thereof being unclean, nor given thereof for the dead." That these rites rendered one "unclean" on account of their association with the cult of the dead, is evident from the technical expression of the Law "unclean for a spirit." [26] In these cases early Yahwism made a compromise with ancestor-worship that it would not make in the case of necromancy and sacrifice to the dead.

It appears, accordingly, that the pre-prophetic religion of Israel did not change the primitive Semitic conceptions of the future life; yet in its attack upon ancestor-worship it prepared the way for the prophetic denial of the intelligence and power of the dead, through which eventually ancient animistic conceptions were destroyed.

f. Sheol Stood Outside of the Authority of Yahweh. —The recognition that there were other gods of other peoples led naturally to the belief that foreign lands stood outside of Yahweh's sphere of influence, and that his activity was limited for the most part to the land of Canaan.[27] In a similar manner Sheol was regarded as lying outside of his rule. It was a foreign land, presided over by its own gods, the spirits of the dead, and over its border Yahweh never passed to exert his authority. In the creation narrative of J it is not mentioned along with "earth and heaven" as created by Yahweh.[28] Even in the late Priestly account [29] it is omitted from the works of Elohim, and the same is true of II Esdras 6:1ff. Nowhere in the Old Testament is Yahweh's creation of Sheol referred to, and Wis. 1:13 asserts, "God made not death" (cf. 2:24). Not until the Middle Ages did the Jewish rabbis infer from the

[26] Lev. 21:1, 11; 22:4; Num. 5:2, *etc.*
[27] Cf. Gen. 4:14; I Sam. 26:19f.; II Sam. 15:8; II Kings 5:15, 17.
[28] Gen. 2:4*b* ff.
[29] Gen. 1:1—2:4*a*.

lack of the formula, "and God saw that it was good," in Gen. 1:6-8, that Sheol was created on the second day.[30] Yahweh was conceived as dwelling in heaven,[31] whence he came down to exert his authority on earth, but never once in pre-prophetic literature is he said to descend into Sheol, or in any way to show his power there.

Since Yahweh was powerless either to bless or to curse in Sheol, worship of him ceased of necessity when one entered that land. The later literature repeatedly asserts that he cannot be served there, and this is undoubtedly an echo of earlier thought. Thus Ps. 6:5 declares, "In death there is no remembrance of thee; in Sheol who shall give thee thanks"; Isa. 38:18f., "Sheol cannot praise thee, Death cannot celebrate thee. . . . The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day."

So long as Sheol stood outside of Yahweh's jurisdiction, no radical change could arise in Israel's conception of the future life. The primitive Semitic and the Babylonian eschatologies held their own without interference until the time when Yahweh was known to be the universal God, whose authority extended to Sheol as well as to all other parts of the universe. Then at last these venerable beliefs began to give place to a worthier idea of the future life.

Because of this total lack of religious or ethical elements in the conception of Sheol, the ancient Hebrew dreaded the future life as much as did all the other Semites. Death seemed to him wholly evil. His one desire was that he might live long in the land, enjoy peace and prosperity, and have numerous descendants. His hope never extended into the other world. Even in late times death was regarded as exclusion from the presence and the care of Yahweh.[32]

g. Retribution Was Limited to the Present Life.—

[30] Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, II, 326.
[31] Gen. 11:5; Exod. 24:10; I Kings 22:19.
[32] Isa. 38:18; Ps. 115:16f.; 6:5f.; 30:10.

Yahweh's rewards of the righteous and his punishments of the wicked were limited to this life. To those who kept his commandments he promised that their days should be long upon the land which Yahweh their God gave them,[33] that their bread and their water should be blessed, and sickness should be kept away from them, that none should cast their young or be barren, that all their enemies should be defeated before them, and their border should be widely extended.[34] Those who broke his commandments were punished with sudden death,[35] with loss of children and property, with sickness, misfortune, and invasion by enemies.[36] Nowhere in pre-exilic literature is any reward of virtue or any punishment of sin anticipated in Sheol. The righteous Hezekiah is represented as saying, "I shall go unto the gates of Sheol. . . . I shall not see Yahweh in the land of the living. . . . They that go down into the Pit cannot hope for thy faithfulness"; [37] and Ps. 88:4f. says: "I am counted with them that go down into the Pit, I am as a man that hath no help: cast off among the dead, like the slain that lie in the grave, whom thou rememberest no more, and they are cut off from thy hand." Both of these passages are probably late, still they preserve the thought of the early Hebrew religion.

h. Collective Retribution—In lack of a belief in future rewards and punishments the justice of Yahweh was vindicated by means of the theory of collective retribution. The penalty of the sinful father, which he escaped by dying, was visited upon his living descendants. The early Hebrews brought into Canaan as an inheritance from primitive Semitic times a strong sense of the solidarity of the family and of the clan. Tribes were spoken of in the singular, as Israel, Moab, Ammon, and the iden-

[33] Exod. 20:12.
[34] Exod. 23:25-31.
[35] Gen. 38:7ff.; I Sam. 6:19ff.; 25:39; II Sam. 6:6ff.
[36] Gen. 44:16; Judg. 9:56f.; II Sam. 16:8.
[37] Isa. 38:10f., 18.

tity of the individual was lost in the group. The logical corollary of this conception was the assumption of collective responsibility for the sins of individuals. Saul sought to kill David's relatives on his account,[38] and annihilated the clan of Ahimelech the priest because he had befriended David.[39] David proposed to cut off the entire family of Nabal because of the insolence of the head of the house.[40] The seven sons of Saul were hanged because of his attack on the Gibeonites.[41] The sons of Naboth were slain with him.[42]

It seemed eminently natural, accordingly, that Yahweh should deal with the group rather than the individual, and should bring the punishment of the sinner, or the reward of the righteous, upon his family, his clan, or his nation, rather than upon himself. Yahweh "visited the penalty of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hated him." [43] The Canaanites were enslaved because of the guilt of their remote ancestor.[44] Pharaoh and his house were plagued because he had taken Sarah.[45] The wombs of the house of Abimelech were closed for the same offence.[46] The firstborn of Egypt were smitten for the sin of Pharaoh.[47] Amalek was destroyed because its forefathers attacked Israel.[48] Dathan and Abiram were engulfed with their wives, their sons, and their little ones.[49] Achan was slain with his sons and his daughters, his oxen and his asses, his sheep and all that he had.[50] The sin of Eli was visited upon his descendants.[51] The

[38] I Sam. 22:1, 3f.
[39] I Sam. 22:16.
[40] I Sam. 25:22.
[41] II Sam. 21:6ff.
[42] II Kings 9:26.
[43] Exod. 20:5.
[44] Gen. 9:24f.
[45] Gen. 12:17 J.
[46] Gen. 20:18 E.
[47] Exod. 12:29 J.
[48] Exod. 17:16; I Sam. 15:2f.
[49] Num. 16:27ff JE.
[50] Josh. 7:24 J.
[51] I Sam. 2:31.

blood of Abner fell upon the father's house of Joab.[52] David's child was killed and the sword never departed from his house because of his sin.[53] Solomon was told, "I will surely rend the kingdom from thee. . . . Notwithstanding in thy days I will not do it, for David thy father's sake; but I will rend it out of the hand of thy son." [54] The house of Jeroboam was cursed for the sin of its founder,[55] so also that of Baasha,[56] and of Ahab.[57] In an indirect way the blessing or cursing of descendants reacted upon forefathers because it affected the cult that was paid to their spirits. If children were cut off, the spirit was deprived of the offerings that were necessary for its repose. Only in this round-about manner did the vengeance of Yahweh reach the sinner in Sheol.

[52] II Sam. 3:29.
[53] II Sam. 12:10, 14f.
[54] I Kings 11:11f.
[55] I Kings 14:10.
[56] I Kings 16:3.
[57] I Kings 21:21. See Löhr, *Socialismus u. Individualismus im A. T.*

CHAPTER XII

PROPHETIC AND LEGAL DENIAL OF THE VITALITY OF SPIRITS

In the period of the prophets we possess for the first time contemporary written records. In the previous periods we have been compelled to reconstruct the conception of the future life by comparison of survivals in Israel with the phenomena of other Semitic religions, but from the eighth century B.C. onward we have as historical sources books that were written by the prophets themselves and law-codes that were inspired by their teaching. The writings of these great men in chronological order are as follows:—Amos (760 B.C.), Hosea (750), Isaiah, chapters 1-32 (740-700), Micah (722-680), Jeremiah (624-586), Nahum (606), Habakkuk (605), Ezekiel (592-570), Obadiah (after 586), Isaiah, chapters 40-55 (546).

The legislation of Deuteronomy was written out about 650 B.C. in the reign of Manasseh, and makes its first appearance in history in the book of the law discovered in the time of Josiah (II Kings, 22:8) and adopted in the national assembly described in II Kings, 23. It shows throughout the influence of the teaching of the prophets of the foregoing Assyrian period. The Holiness Code in Lev. 17-26 was committed to writing about 600 B.C., shortly before the Exile, and is first quoted by the Prophet Ezekiel. It depends both upon the prophets of the Assyrian period and upon Deuteronomy.

During this period Israel stood under the rule, first of Assyria, and then of Babylon, and was consequently exposed to the influence of the Assyro-Babylonian civiliza-

tion. This may have strengthened the old Babylonian beliefs concerning Sheol that had come to the Hebrews in an earlier period, but it brought no new elements into their conception of the future life. All that was new in the thought of this period was due to the teaching of the prophets.

The literary prophets from Amos onward differed from their predecessors chiefly in the emphasis that they laid upon the moral character of Yahweh. The earlier seers knew that Yahweh had ethical attributes, but they did not make these fundamental in their conception of him. The literary prophets, however, perceived that righteousness was Yahweh's central attribute. From this it followed that he was different in kind from the gods of other nations, who were destitute of moral qualities. The gods of the heathen, being unethical, were no gods at all. Instead of being *ĕlôhîm,* 'powers,' they were *ĕlîlîm,* 'feeble ones,' or, as our version renders it, 'vanities.' Yahweh was the only God, because he alone was holy. Thus for the first time in the history of Israel, theoretical monotheism was attained, not as among other peoples by the avenue of philosophical reflection, but by the avenue of the moral judgment. This new and higher conception of the nature of Yahweh could not fail to modify the ancient conception of the future life.

a. The Activity of the Dead Was Denied.—The same process by which the "other gods" were degraded from mighty beings, the rivals of Yahweh, to "feeble ones" is seen in the case of spirits of the dead. In pre-prophetic days they were believed to possess such large powers that the temptation was strong to render them some of the worship due to Yahweh alone; in the prophetic period they were stripped of their energy so completely that they became mere shadows, unable to help or to hurt, to whom it was futile either to pray or to offer sacrifice.

This development shows itself conspicuously in the prophetic denial of the independent vitality of the human

soul. In Semitic and early Hebrew anthropology *nefesh* and *rûaḥ* were synonymous terms for 'spirit'; in prophetic anthropology *rûaḥ* was distinguished from *nefesh* as the vital principle and the seat of the higher faculties. It was imparted by God to the *nefesh* during life, but reclaimed by him at death. The germ of this idea is found in the Yahwistic narrative of Gen. 2:7, where Yahweh breathes into man's nostrils the breath of life and he becomes "a living *nefesh,*" but the thought is not developed in Hebrew literature until after the Exile. Thus in Isa. 42:5 we read, "He giveth breath to the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk therein"; Ps. 104:29f., "Thou gatherest in their breath, they die, and return to their dust: thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created"; Job 27:3, "My life is yet whole in me, and the spirit of God is in my nostrils"; 32:8, "There is a spirit in man, and the breath of Shaddai giveth them understanding"; 33:4, "The spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of Shaddai giveth me life"; 34:14, "If he gather unto himself his spirit and his breath, all flesh shall perish together"; Eccles. 12:7, "The dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit returns to God who gave it." In these passages the vitality of the human soul depends so completely upon the indwelling spirit of God, that activity ceases when the divine breath is withdrawn. All individual *rûḥôth* are absorbed in the one *rûaḥ* of Yahweh, and all that is left of a man after death is a *nefesh,* or 'breath,' from which knowledge and feeling have departed. Thus the religion of the prophets cut the root of ancestor-worship by denying the conscious existence of the dead.

In striking contrast to the ancient doctrine which ascribed interest in the living and superhuman powers to the dead, the late prophetic and subsequent literature denies all activity to them. *Abaddon,* 'destruction,' becomes one of the names of Sheol.[1] In Isa. 38:11, if the

[1] Job 26:6; Ps. 88:11; Prov. 15:11; 27:20.

text be sound, it is called *hedel,* 'cessation.' In Ps. 88:12 it is "the land of forgetfulness." Ezekiel 26:21 says of Tyre, when she goes down to Sheol, "I will make thee a destruction, and thou shalt be no more: thou shalt be sought for, yet thou shalt never be found again"; Isa 63:16, "Thou art our father, though Abraham knoweth us not, and Israel doth not acknowledge us"; Job 7:9-11, "As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away, so he that goeth down to Sheol shall come up no more"; Job 14:21, "His sons come to honour, and he knoweth it not; and they are brought low, but he perceiveth it not of them"; Job 17:15f., "Where then is my hope? and as for my hope, who shall see it? It shall go down to the bars of Sheol, when once there is rest in the dust"; Ps. 94:17, "Unless Yahweh had been my help, my soul had soon dwelt in silence"; Eccles. 9:5f., 10, "The living know that they shall die, but the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward, for the memory of them is forgotten. As well their love as their hatred and their envy is now perished, neither have they any more a portion for ever in anything that is done under the sun. . . . For there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in Sheol, whither thou goest"; Ecclus. 30:18f., "Good things poured upon a mouth that is closed, are as messes of meat laid upon a grave. What can an offering profit a shade, for it can neither eat nor smell"; 38:20-23, "Give not thy heart unto sorrow . . . him thou wilt not profit, and thou wilt hurt thyself. . . . When the dead is at rest, let his remembrance rest, and be comforted for him when his spirit departeth from him." Most of these passages are later than the period that we are considering, but they preserve the negative attitude of prophetism toward the existence in Sheol.

The old belief that the dead could not worship Yahweh persisted in this period, but for a different reason. In pre-prophetic times Yahweh could not be honoured in

Sheol because his authority did not extend thither, but in prophetic times it was because the dead had not sufficient energy to worship. Thus Ps:88:11, "Shall thy loving-kindness be declared in the grave, or thy faithfulness in Abaddon? Shall thy wonders be known in the dark? and thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?" Ps. 115:17, "The dead praise not Yahweh, neither any that go down into silence"; Ecclus. 17:27, "Who shall give praise to the Most High in the grave, instead of them which live and return thanks? Thanksgiving perisheth from the dead, as from one that is not: he that is in life and health shall praise the Lord"; Bar. 2:17, "The dead that are in the grave, whose spirit is taken from their bodies, will give unto the Lord neither glory nor righteousness."

These statements must not be taken as an assertion of the annihilation of the soul at death. Disembodied spirits continued to exist, but their existence was empty of content. It was form without substance. Hence it is frequently compared to the feeble life of the soul in sleep. It is "the eternal sleep."[2] "Till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake or be roused out of their sleep";[3] "They sleep in the dust of the earth."[4] "Sleep" in these passages is not understood of the body in the grave, but of the unconscious, emotionless existence of the shades in Sheol.

The foregoing discussion has made it clear that the attitude of the religion of Yahweh to the eschatology of the individual, from the days of Moses to the completion of the law in the post-exilic Priestly Code, was essentially negative. Spirits of the dead, like "strange gods," were at first dangerous rivals of Yahweh, and his adherents laboured for their destruction. In this process the dead were deprived of one attribute after another, until at the end of the prophetic-legal development they had become

[2] Jer. 51:39, 57; Ecclus. 46:19f.
[3] Job 14:12.
[4] Dan. 12:2.

powerless shadows, whose existence was destitute of every element that constituted life. Thus the victory over necrolatry was won, but at the cost of the extinction of even a rudimentary belief in immortality. Primitive Semitic animism had nothing in common with Yahwism, and it was necessary that it should perish before the structure of a better faith could arise.

b. Rites of Ancestor-worship Were Eliminated from the Worship of Yahweh.—The literary prophets saw clearly that Yahweh had triumphed over the *bᵉʿālîm* by appropriating their cults, and that the result had been that in the popular conception Yahweh was no better than a *baʿal*.[5] In their effort to purify the conception of God they insisted that heathen elements should be purged out of the religion of Israel. This movement culminated in the demand of Deuteronomy that the high places, which originally had been seats of the worship of the *bᵉʿālîm*, should be abolished. These included the graves that in pre-prophetic times had been transformed into sanctuaries of Yahweh. Henceforth they were forbidden as places of worship.[6] This prohibition was intensified by the doctrine that graves were "unclean," and that they "defiled" one who came in contact with them.[7] In like manner the *maṣṣēbôth*, or 'standing stones' upon graves, that had been appropriated to the service of Yahweh in the earlier religion, were repudiated by the religion of the prophets.[8]

c. Rites of Mourning for the Dead Were Restricted.—The leaders of Hebrew thought felt instinctively that mourning for the dead, though not distinctly worship, was nevertheless closely allied to it; accordingly they bent their efforts to abolish this as far as possible. The process was a gradual one, that first came to clear expression in the Law, and that was never carried through

[5] Hos. 2:16.
[6] Deut. 12:1-14, etc.
[7] Ezek. 43:7f.; Num. 19:11.
[8] Deut. 16:22.

completely. Jeremiah and Ezekiel still regard shaving the head and making cuttings in the flesh as permissible,[9] but Deut. 14:1 and the Holiness Code [10] prohibit both of these customs. The prophet, who stood in a peculiarly intimate relation with Yahweh, was forbidden to participate in mourning.[11] In like manner the priest was forbidden to "defile himself for a spirit," except in the case of his nearest kin;[12] and the high priest was forbidden to "defile himself" under any circumstances.[13] The nazirite also was forbidden to come near a dead body.[14] In general, however, the primitive Semitic rites of mourning were too firmly intrenched to be dislodged by the Law, and most of them remained unchanged in later Judaism.

d. Yahweh's Power Extended to Sheol.—With the recognition of the prophets that Yahweh was the only God, because he alone was righteous, went the belief that he was not limited to the land of Israel, but that the whole world stood under his rule.[15] In like manner Sheol was now believed to be included in his realm. "Though they dig into Sheol, thence shall mine hand take them," says the Lord by his prophet.[16] The demons of Sheol obey the command of Yahweh.[17] To the unbelieving Ahaz Isaiah says, "Ask thee a sign from Yahweh, thy God, going deep unto Sheol."[18] The wrath of Yahweh reaches even unto the lowest Sheol;[19] his knowledge is deeper than Sheol; [20] "The shades tremble beneath the waters and the inhabitants thereof. Sheol is naked before him, and Abaddon hath no covering";[21]

[9] Jer. 16:6; Ezek. 7:18.
[10] Lev. 19:27f.; 21:5.
[11] Jer. 16:5; Ezek. 24:17.
[12] Lev. 21:1f.
[13] Lev. 21:10f.
[14] Num. 6:6f.
[15] Cf. Amos 1:3—2:3; 9:7.
[16] Amos 9:2.
[17] Hos. 13:14.
[18] Isa. 7:11.
[19] Deut. 32:22.
[20] Job 11:8.
[21] Job 26:5f.

Yahweh knows the recesses of the deep and the gates of death have been revealed unto him;[22] "If I make my bed in Sheol, behold thou art there";[23] "Sheol and Abaddon are before Yahweh." [24]

When Yahweh's power was thus extended to Sheol, it would seem as if the shades might have enjoyed fellowship with him, and as if there might have been the beginning of a higher doctrine of immortalty; but this extension of God's power came too late. In the struggle against ancestor-worship the shades had been stripped so completely of their powers that, although Yahweh was now present among them, his presence did not help. They could not know him, and could not rejoice in his loving-kindness. Yahweh's power over Sheol also made it theoretically possible that he could deliver souls from that dark abode, and bring them back to life; but this doctrine never appears in the period that we are considering. The statement that "Yahweh killeth and maketh alive" [25] refers not to resurrection but to recovery from dangerous illness, and the three raisings of the dead that are recorded in pre-exilic times are properly regarded as cases of suspended animation.

e. Retribution Was Limited to the Present Life.— Like the pre-prophetic literature, the Prophets and the Law never promise rewards or punishments in the other world. This is not because Yahweh is unable to bestow them, but because the dead are unable to receive them. In their zeal to destroy the last vestiges of ancestor-worship, these writings go so far in their denial of life in Sheol that it becomes impossible for them to develop any doctrine of future retribution. Thus the paradox is explained that the prophetic religion, which was pre-eminently a religion of hope, had no hope of immortality. Over the gate of Sheol, as the prophets conceived it, might

[22] Job 38:16f.
[23] Ps. 139:8.
[24] Prov. 15:11.
[25] I Sam. 2:6; II Kings 5:7; Deut. 32:39.

have been written the words that Dante saw written over the entrance to Hell, "Lasciate ogni speranza voi che'ntrate."

f. Collective Retribution.—The prophets held the same conception as the earlier religion that rewards and punishments due a man were allotted to his relatives and descendants. Amos announced as the punishment of Amaziah, "Thy wife shall be a harlot in the city, and thy sons and thy daughters shall fall by the sword." [26] These prophets always asserted that the penalty due the ruling classes should fall upon the nation as a whole.[27] In like manner the rewards of virtue accrued to the family of the righteous.

g. Ezekiel's Theory of Individual Retribution in the Present Life.—Ezekiel agreed with the prophets that preceded him that there was no activity of the dead in Sheol, and that all rewards and punishments were allotted men by Yahweh in the present life; but he differed from his predecessors in the matter of collective retribution. Instead of the doctrine that the penalty of the parents is visited upon the children, he affirmed, "The soul that sinneth it shall die," and entered into an elaborate argument to prove that every man received before death the appropriate reward of his deeds.[28]

This modification of the old prophetic doctrine was necessitated by the growth in Israel of a new sense of the worth of the individual. In the period of the later monarchy the old tribal organization began to break up, and during the Babylonian Exile it disappeared almost entirely. The religious experience of the prophets fostered individualism, and this left its mark in the legislation of Deuteronomy and the Holiness Code which recognize new rights of wives, children, and slaves over against the head of the house, and which prohibit the punishment of children for the crimes of fathers, or of fathers for

[26] Amos 7:17.
[27] Cf. Amos 8:8; Hos. 3:4; Isa. 5:25-30; Mic. 3:12.
[28] Ezek. 18:4-32; 9:3-6; 14:12-20.

the crimes of children.[29] This new consciousness of the dignity of the individual human being found noble expression in the words of the Lord proclaimed by Ezekiel, "Behold all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine," [30] and in the prediction of Jeremiah that in the Messianic age Yahweh would write his instruction in the heart of each individual, so that all should know him from the least unto the greatest.[31]

This new conception of the value of the individual made belief in the ancient theory of collective retribution impossible. Punishment of the nation for the sins of its rulers, or of children for the sins of their parents, no longer seemed consistent with the righteousness of Yahweh. Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel found the proverb current among the people, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are blunted," that is to say, "We are suffering unjustly the penalty of our ancestors' sins." [32] It was to meet this objection that Ezekiel formulated his doctrine of a complete rewarding or punishing of each individual in the present life that necessitated no entail of guilt upon coming generations.

This became the orthodox doctrine of the Zadokites, or Sadducees, the priestly aristocracy that claimed descent from Aaron through Zadok, the chief priest of Solomon's temple,[33] and that monopolized priestly functions in the temple of Zerubbabel.[34] Ezekiel himself belonged to this priesthood. In the New Testament the Sadducees appear as deniers that there is any conscious existence of the soul after death, and also as deniers of the Pharisaic doctrine of the resurrection of the spirit to a new life on earth in the body; "for the Sadducees say that there is no

[29] Deut. 24:1f.; 15:12; 23:15f.; 12:31; 18:10; Lev. 25:42; 18:21.
[30] Ezek. 18:4.
[31] Jer. 31:31-34.
[32] Jer. 31:29; Ezek. 18:2.
[33] I Kings 2:35 b.
[34] Ezek. 44:15-16; P in Ex. 30:32f.; Num. 4:17, 20.

resurrection, neither angel nor spirit." [35] They preserved in a petrified form the doctrines of the Law and of the Prophets, that death was eternal sleep, and that all retribution came to men in the present life; with Ezekiel's modification, that each man received his own, and not some other man's recompense.

This doctrine of the Sadducees was followed by most of the post-exilic Jewish literature. It appears in the Psalter,[36] in the Book of Proverbs,[37] in the arguments of the three friends against Job,[38] and in Ecclesiastes.[39] Ecclesiasticus,[40] Tobit, and 1 Maccabees occupy the same position. It is the orthodox doctrine of Judaism so far as the Canonical Scriptures are concerned, for it is the doctrine of the Law, of the Prophets, and of most of the Writings.

In spite of its popularity, Ezekiel's theory of individual retribution in the present life was open to formidable objections. In the first place, experience taught that there was truth in the old theory of collective retribution. Children did suffer the consequences of their parents' sins. In the second place, it was contrary to experience that every man received in the present life the just recompense of his deeds. It was only too obvious that sinners frequently flourished and lived to a ripe old age, while the righteous suffered, and were cut off prematurely. In the third place, Ezekiel's theory necessitated the assumption that happiness is the measure of goodness. If a man suffered all his life, he must be a great sinner. This was the logic of Job's friends. In view of his unparalleled misfortunes, they could only conclude that he was the chief of sinners.[41] Job knew that this was not true, and yet he suffered. Consequently,

[35] Mark 12:18-27; Acts 23:8.
[36] Ps. 34:19ff.; 37:25, 28; 80:10; 145:20, etc.
[37] Prov. 3:33; 11:31.
[38] Job 4:8; 8:20; 11:20.
[39] Eccles. 2:14f.; 3:21; 8:10; 9:2, 5f., 10; 12:5.
[40] Ecclus. 11:26f.; 17:27; 30:17.
[41] Job 4:7; 8:3ff.; 11:3-6.

he was forced to give up Ezekiel's theory of individual retribution in the present life.[42] Other thinkers felt the same difficulty, and the old doctrine that the sins of the fathers were visited upon the children maintained itself in Jewish thought even down to New Testament times.[43]

The prophetic period thus ended in negation of the ancient beliefs in regard to the soul and in regard to retribution. The Prophets and the Law denied the conscious existence of the soul after death, and Ezekiel and his successors denied collective rewards and punishments, but were unable to establish their theory of individual rewards and punishments in the present life. The ancient faith in ghost life and in tribal solidarity was gone, and there was nothing to put in its place. In the next period we shall see how, after the ground had been cleared of primitive Semitic animistic conceptions of the future life and primitive Semitic ideas of the unity of the clan, new doctrines of immortality arose that were based upon the righteousness of Yahweh and the need for its vindication in another world, and that were suggested by contact, first with Persian and then with Greek thought.

[42] Job 9:22-25; 10:3; 12:4-6; 16:11-17; 19:6-21; 21:7-34; 27:2.
[43] Job 5:4; 17:5; 20:10; 27:14f.; Ps. 109:9-15; Dan. 9:7-16; Tob. 3:3; Judith 7:28; Bar. 1:15-21; 2:26; 3-8; Matt. 23:35.

CHAPTER XIII

NEW THEORIES OF IMMORTALITY IN POST-EXILIC JUDAISM

a. Persian Influence in the Doctrine of Resurrection of the Body.—From 536 to 333 B.C. the Jews stood under the rule of the Persian empire, and their religion was subjected to the influence of Persian thought. The doctrine of the Satan, or "the Accuser," Greek Diabolos, English Devil, first appears in the post-exilic Books of Zechariah, Job, and Chronicles,[1] and is almost certainly a reflex of the Persian Zoroastrian doctrine of Angromainyu, or Ahriman, the Evil One, the antithesis of Ahura-mazda, or Ormazd, the Good God. The post-exilic doctrine of angels also probably shows Persian influence. In pre-exilic literature the "angel of Yahweh" is the local appearance-form of Yahweh himself, and has no personal name. In post-exilic literature orders of angels are recognized distinct from Yahweh, and they bear personal names such as Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, Uriel.[2] This also is closely similar to the teaching of the *Avesta.* In like manner the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, which first appears in the Book of Job, is probably suggested by Persian eschatology, where this doctrine is highly developed.

As we have seen before, there is no evidence for the existence of a doctrine of resurrection among the Babylonians or among the pre-exilic Hebrews.[3] The three cases of re-animation recorded in pre-exilic literature, Elijah's raising of the widow's son, Elisha's raising of

[1] Zech. 3:1f.; Job. 1:6-12; 2:1-7; I Chr. 21:1.
[2] Dan. 20:21; 10:13.
[3] See pp. 221f., 246f.

the Shunammite boy, and the raising of a dead man through contact with the bones of Elisha, are all apparently instances of re-awakening rather than recalling from real death. The bodies had not been buried, and dissolution had not set in, so that these cannot properly be classed under the head of resurrection. There was nothing, therefore, in pre-exilic literature to suggest the hope of resurrection to the author of Job. On the other hand, he lived toward the end of the Persian period, and was certainly influenced by Persian thought in other respects, so that there is no difficulty in thinking that he borrowed this doctrine also from Persian sources. The pre-exilic prophets had taught the lifelessness of Sheol, but also the perfect righteousness of Yahweh and his almighty power that extended even to Sheol. It was easy to correlate the Zoroastrian doctrine of resurrection with these prophetic doctrines by holding that Yahweh's righteousness and almighty power showed themselves by delivering men from the "eternal sleep" of Sheol through restoring them to life on earth in the body. The foreign doctrine of resurrection thus came as a welcome aid in solving the problem of retribution which had been left unsolved by the prophets.

While Job was struggling with the mystery of his terrible sufferings, loss of wealth, loss of children, and loss of health, and was unable to find any explanation for these either as the punishment of the sins of his ancestors, or as punishment for his own sins; and was tempted to deny that an all-wise, all-powerful, and all-righteous God ruled the world; the question suddenly flashed into his mind, Was it not possible that a vindication of his innocence might come after death? That could not be in Sheol, since there conscious existence ceased, but might not God bring him back to life again, so that on earth and in the flesh he should receive the reward of virtue? The cut-down tree revives. May not man also awaken from the sleep of death?

"There is hope for a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again,
And that the tender branch thereof will not cease.
Though the root thereof wax old in the earth,
And the stock thereof die in the ground;
Yet through the scent of water it will bud,
And put forth boughs like a plant" (Job 14:7-9).

At first the poet rejects the thought of resurrection as inconceivable.

"But a man dieth, and is prostrate,
And a mortal expireth, and where is he?
As the water vanisheth from the sea,
And as the river drieth up and is arid,
So man lieth down, and doth not arise:
Till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake,
Nor be roused out of their sleep" (14:10-12).

But the new hope that has risen within him still asserts itself.

"O that thou wouldest hide me in Sheol,
That thou wouldest conceal me until thy wrath should turn away,
That thou wouldest appoint me a set time and remember me.
If a man die, shall he live again?
All the days of my enlistment would I wait,
Till my discharge should come,
Till thou shouldest call, and I should answer thee,
Till thou shouldest long for the work of thy hands" (14:13-15).

The hope here expressed does not mount to the height of assertion, and the theme is not pursued farther at this point; but in 19:25-27 Job again returns to it, and this time states as a conviction what before had been only a vague longing.

"But I know that my avenger liveth,
And one who shall survive after I am dust;
And that another shall arise as my witness,
And that he shall set up his mark.
From my flesh shall I see God,
Whom I shall see for myself,
And mine eyes shall behold, and no stranger." [4]

[4] Translated from the text as revised by Duhm on the basis of the Septuagint.

This cannot refer, as many commentators have supposed, to a vision of God in the other world, for Job has asserted too often his conviction that there is no knowledge in Sheol (Job 7:9; 14:21; 17:15f.). It must be interpreted in the light of the hope that struggles to expression in 14:7-15, that there is such a thing as a return from Sheol to the life upon earth. "From my flesh," accordingly, cannot mean "disembodied," but must mean "re-embodied." The vindication of a disembodied spirit would be at variance with the whole development of Old Testament thought up to this point.

An apocalypse of the late Persian period that has been incorporated with the prophecies of Isaiah, Isa., chaps. 24-27, extends the hope of an individual resurrection expressed by Job to all the righteous of Israel: "Thy dead shall arise; the inhabitants of the dust shall awake, and shout for joy; for a dew of lights is thy dew, and to life shall the earth bring the shades." [5] On the other hand, the wicked shall remain in the dreamless sleep of Sheol: "They shall be swept together as prisoners into a pit, and led down to be confined in a dungeon; thus after many days they will be punished." "The (wicked) dead will not live again, their shades will not rise; to that end thou didst punish them, thou didst destroy them, and cause all memory of them to perish." [6] Here Sheol appears, not as the common fate of all men, as in the pre-exilic period, but only as the punishment of the wicked; while the reward of the righteous is that they escape from Sheol, and participate in the kingdom of the restored Israel.

A further extension of the doctrine of resurrection is seen in Daniel (165-164 B.C.): "And many that sleep in the land of dust shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." [7] Here both the conspicuously good and the conspicuously bad

[5] Isa. 26:19, according to the amended text of Duhm and Cheyne.
[6] Isa. 24:22; 26:14.
[7] Dan. 12:2f.

are raised again, in order that in the flesh they may receive the just recompense of their deeds in their former lives.

The expectation of resurrection is extended by later writings to all the dead. Thus in II Esd. 4:41 we read: "In the grave the chambers of souls are like the womb; for like as a woman that travaileth maketh haste to escape the anguish of the travail, even so do these places haste to deliver those things that are committed unto them from the beginning"; 7:32: "The earth shall restore those that are asleep in her, and so shall the dust those that dwell therein in silence, and the chambers shall deliver those souls that were committed unto them"; Enoch 51:1: "In those days shall the earth give back those that are gathered in her, and Sheol shall restore those it has received, and Abaddon shall render up what has been intrusted to it"; Apoc. Bar. 21:23: "May Sheol be sealed up henceforth, that it receive no more dead; and may the chambers of souls restore those that are shut up in them."

This general resurrection of all men, to receive the judgment of the last day, became the doctrine of the Pharisees and of the Talmud. In Acts 23:6ff. we are told that "when Paul perceived that the one part were Sadducees and the other Pharisees, he cried out in the council, Brethren, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees; touching the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question. And when he had so said, there arose a dissension between the Pharisees and the Sadducees; and the assembly was divided. For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit; but the Pharisees confess both." So also in John 11:24 Martha voices the correct Pharisaic teaching when she says of her brother, "I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day." This doctrine of resurrection agrees with the Prophets, the Law, and the Sadducees in denying that there is any life of the spirit apart from

the body. It is not belief in immortality in any proper sense of the word, but is belief in resumption of the present physical life on earth. It is more akin to primitive theories of re-incarnation and transmigration of souls than it is to philosophical or religious conceptions of the intrinsic indestructibility of spirits. It exalts the righteousness of God, but it is a lower doctrine of spirits than primitive animism.[8]

b. Greek Influence in the Doctrine of Incorporeal Immortality.—From Alexander's conquest in 333 B.C. down to the founding of the Maccabean kingdom in 165 B.C. the Jews stood under Greek rule and were in close contact with Greek civilization. In Palestine, and particularly in Egypt, they accepted many Greek philosophic ideas, and sought to combine them with the faith of their fathers. This was particularly true of conceptions of the soul. The magnificent heritage of Greek thought on the subject of immortality, which has been discussed in a previous chapter,[9] was well known to Jewish thinkers in Alexandria, and was more or less familiar to the rabbis in Palestine. The Book of Wisdom, which stands sixth in our English Apocrypha, is a product of Alexandrian Hellenism, and teaches a purely Platonic doctrine of the inherent divinity and immortality of the soul. In Wisd. 2:23-3:6 we meet the finest expression of faith in immortality that occurs in all pre-Christian literature:

> "God created man for incorruption,
> And made him an image of his own proper being;
> But by the envy of the Devil death entered into the world,
> And they that are of his portion make trial thereof.
> But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God,
> And no torment shall touch them.
> In the eyes of the foolish they seemed to have died;
> And their departure was accounted to be their hurt,
> And their journeying away from us to be their ruin;
> But they are in peace.

[8] See pp. 26, 98ff.
[9] See pp. 99-101.

For even if in the sight of men they be punished,
Their hope is full of immortality;
And having borne a little chastening, they shall receive great good;
Because God made trial of them, and found them worthy of himself."

Here we meet the Platonic ideas, that man is a spark from the divine fire, that birth is a fall from a higher existence, that the body is the prison of the soul, that death is a release from prison, and that the souls of the righteous pass to an immediate reward.[10] The same theology is taught in IV Maccabees,[11] where the patriarchs and saints are not in Sheol, but dwell with God, and are joined at death by the righteous, particularly by martyrs for the faith. A similar doctrine was held by Philo of Alexandria and by the Essenes in Palestine, according to the testimony of Josephus.[12] On this theory resurrection was unnecessary, since the body was evil, and at death the soul at once entered upon a higher spiritual life.

It is possible that the Platonic doctrine of inherent immortality is taught by a few psalms of the late Greek period, where it is said that God does not permit his righteous ones to see Sheol, or that he delivers them from Sheol;[13] but it is probable in all these cases that deliverance from Sheol does not mean keeping one from going to Sheol after death, but keeping one from dying.[14] In this case the Platonic theory of immortality is not found in any of the writings that have been admitted to the Old Testament canon.

c. Combination of the Persian Doctrine of Resurrection with the Greek Doctrine of Incorporeal Immortality.—Hellenistic Jews who had adopted the Platonic

[10] Cf. 1:15; 4:7-15; 7:3; 8:20; 9:15; 10:13.
[11] IV Mac. 5:37; 7:3, 19; 9:8; 13:17; 14:5f.; 15:3; 16:13; 17:5, 12; 18:16, 23.
[12] *Ant.* xviii. 1:5; *War,* ii. 8:11.
[13] Ps. 16:9-11; 17:15; 49:13-15; 73:23-26.
[14] See p. 246.

conception of the soul, but who wished also to retain the orthodox Pharisaic doctrine of the resurrection of the body, tried to unite the two ideas by the assumption that at death the righteous passed at once into a blessed existence and the wicked into a state of punishment, but that they were raised again to the life of the body on earth at the last day to receive their final rewards and punishments. This doctrine first appears in the oldest portion of the Book of Enoch, chaps. 1-36,[15] which some critics date as early as 170 B.C., but which others assign to the reign of John Hyrcanus (135-105 B.C.). In chap. 22 Sheol is described as containing three divisions, two for the wicked and one for the righteous. One contains the souls of the wicked who have received their punishment in this life. They shall remain there forever, and not be raised at the last day. The second contains the wicked who have not been punished in this life. "Here their spirits are placed apart in this great pain, till the day of judgment, and punishment, and torment of the accursed forever." The third contains the souls of the righteous and the great saints. These dwell already in Paradise, and drink of the water of life, while they await their resurrection.

In the Parables of Enoch (Chaps. 37-71), which probably date from a time shortly before the beginning of the Christian era, the righteous pass at once after death into blessedness in the presence of God, and are guarded by the pre-existent "Son of Man." [16] At the time of the coming of the "Son of Man" they are to be raised to life, in order that they may share in the blessedness of the Messianic kingdom.[17]

A similar conception appears in another independent section of the Book of Enoch (chaps. 102-4): "I swear to you now, ye righteous . . . that good of every sort,

[15] See Charles, *The Book of Enoch;* Kautzsch, *Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen.* Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.
[16] Enoch 38:1; 40:5; 43:4; 49:3; 60:6; 61:12; 70:4.
[17] Enoch 51:1.

joy and honour, are prepared and recorded for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness. . . . Woe to you sinners, when ye die in your sins, and your comrades say of you, Blessed are the sinners. . . . Know ye not that their souls are brought down to Sheol, that they fare ill, and that their affliction will be great?" [18]

This combination of Platonism and Pharisaism found great favour in the early Christian Church and in later Rabbinic Judaism, and has become the orthodox doctrine of Christian scholastic theology. Thus the Westminster Shorter Catechism teaches: "The souls of believers are, at their death, made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory; and their bodies, being still united to Christ, do rest in their graves till the resurrection. At the resurrection, believers, being raised up in glory, shall be openly acknowledged and acquitted in the day of judgment, and made perfectly blessed in the full enjoying of God to all eternity."

The difficulty with this combination is that a judgment at death makes a last judgment unnecessary. If the dead pass at once into felicity or into torture, there is no need of a general resurrection in order that the divine justice may be vindicated. The two theories seem to be mutually exclusive, and all efforts to combine them are artificial.

Thus it appears that in the time of Christ four theories of the future life prevailed among the Jews; first, that of the Sadducees, that there was no conscious existence of the soul after death and no resurrection; second, that of the Pharisees, that there was no conscious existence of the soul after death, but that there was a resurrection to new life in the body on earth; third, that of the Hellenists, that there was a conscious existence of the disembodied soul without resurrection; and fourth, that also of the Hellenists, that there was a conscious existence of the disembodied soul, followed by a resurrection at the last day. These four theories struggled with one another

[18] Enoch 103:1f.; compare also Apoc. Bar., chap. 30; II Esd., chap. 7.

for supremacy, no consensus of opinion was reached, and many Jews remained sceptical on the whole subject. A new revelation was needed to clarify thought. Fresh light must be thrown upon the nature of God, the nature of man, and their relation to one another, before the problem of immortality could be solved. That light came in Him, through whose life, and teaching, and rising again from the dead, life and immortality have been brought to light.

CHAPTER XIV

THE TEACHING OF JESUS IN REGARD TO IMMORTALITY

a. *The Fatherhood of God.*—The fundamental fact in the religious experience of Jesus was the fatherhood of God. He constantly called God "my Father," and spoke of himself as "the Son." [1] He recognized that God was the Father of other men also, but he carefully distinguished his sonship from theirs. He spoke of "your Father" and "my Father," but never of "our Father." He taught his disciples: "After this manner pray ye, Our Father who art in Heaven," but he did not join in the petition. He was conscious of a unique filial relation. At his baptism and at his transfiguration he was aware of a voice saying, "This is my Son, my Beloved, in whom I am well pleased"; and, according to the remarkable passage from the *Quelle* which has been preserved both by Matthew and by Luke, he declared: "All things have been delivered unto me of my Father; and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him." [2] Nevertheless, this consciousness of his own peculiar sonship did not hinder, but rather helped him, to realise that other men also were children of God in a very deep and true sense. On this foundation of personal experience of sonship to God Jesus based his gospel. Father became his constant name for God, being used one hundred and eighty times in our canonical Gospels.

This title had been applied to God in the Old Testa-

[1] Mark 8:38; 14:36; Matt. 7:21; 10:32f.; 12:50; 16:17; etc.; Luke 4:3, 9.
[2] Mark 1:11; 9:7; Matt. 11:27 = Luke 10:22. Cf. Matt. 17:25f.; Mark 12:6.

ment and in other ancient religions, but Jesus gave it a new meaning both extensively and intensively. Extensively, in the Old Testament God was the Father of Israel,[3] of the king,[4] and of the righteous;[5] but he was never called the Father of each individual Israelite, much less of all men. The Gentiles stood outside of his fatherly interest and care.[6] For Jesus, on the contrary, God was the Father of every individual human being. When he said, "Your Heavenly Father feeds the birds of the heaven, and clothes the lilies and the grass of the field," and added, "Are ye not of much more value than they? shall He not much more feed and clothe you?" he implied that God's fatherly care extends even to the lower orders of life; and therefore, all men must be included in its scope. In the parable of the good Samaritan he taught that God's fatherhood transcends the limits of race; and in the parables of the two sons and of the prodigal son he taught that God is the Father of sinners as well as of the righteous.[7]

Intensively also Jesus' conception of the fatherhood of God went far beyond the teaching of the Old Testament. In the Old Testament, as in many other ancient religions, Father meant primarily "begetter," or "creator."[8] It was also a title of respect expressing the divine superiority to men in wisdom, power, and goodness; and a title of authority describing God as the ruler of the world, just as the patriarchal father was the ruler of his family. Rarely, and only in the later Old Testament books, does Father express the parental love of God toward his children.[9]

All these older meanings of fatherhood Jesus retained in his conception of God. God is Father because

[3] Deut. 32:6, 18; Isa. 64:8; Mal. 2:10; Ex. 4:22; Hos. 11:1.
[4] II Sam. 7:14f.; Ps. 2:7; 89:26f.
[5] Ps. 103:13.
[6] Ex. 17:14, 16; Deut. 25:17-19; I Sam. 15:3; Mal. 1:2.
[7] Matt. 6:25-34; 7:7-11; 10:29-31; 18:14; Luke 15.
[8] Deut. 32:18; Isa. 64:8; Jer. 2:27; Mal. 2:10.
[9] Hos. 11:1, 8; Jer. 3:14, 19; 31:3; Mal. 3:17; Ps. 103:13.

he has created men,[10] and because he is infinitely superior to them in every respect. To express this divine transcendence Jesus used the terms "Heavenly Father," or "Father in Heaven." God is Father also because He is the sovereign ruler of the universe. The Father is at the same time King of the Kingdom of God.[11] The central element, however, in Jesus' conception of God's fatherhood is his infinite and eternal love. This element, which exists in the Old Testament only in germ, becomes fundamental in the theology of Jesus,[12] so that the Apostle John can correctly summarise his Master's teaching by saying, "God is love," that is, love is not merely one among many divine attributes, but it is the essence of God, it is the quality which explains and unifies all the divine attributes and activities. This love of God Jesus exemplified in his own attitude toward men by showing a love that included Gentiles as well as Jews, women and little children as well as men, ignorant as well as wise, lowly as well as exalted, sinful as well as good, unchurched and hated as well as pious and religious.

b. The Sonship of Men.—The counter-truth to the universal fatherhood of God is, that all men are God's children. This Jesus affirmed quite as often as that God is the Father in Heaven. When he spoke of men as "becoming sons of God," [13] this did not imply that they were not already sons, but only that they could continually advance into a larger realisation and exemplification of sonship. All men are children of God, but all do not yet live like God's children.

From sonship to God Jesus inferred the infinite value of every human soul. The soul is more precious than all material things: "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own life; or what shall a man give in exchange for his life." The

[10] Mark 10:6.
[11] Mark. 10:27; 14:36; Matt. 6:4, 6, 8, 18, 32; 5:48; 19-17.
[12] See above, note 7.
[13] Matt. 5:45; Mark. 3:35; John 1:12-13; 3:3-9.

soul is more valuable than all plant or animal life, more valuable than the grass or the lilies, more valuable than birds, or sheep, or oxen. In the parables of the lost piece of money, the lost sheep, and the prodigal son, Jesus taught that God cherishes every human soul, and that He cannot bear that one of his children should perish.[14]

c. The Immortality of the Soul.—The love of God, which makes every human being precious to Him, is the basis of Jesus' teaching of immortality. If God regards his children as supremely precious because He loves them, it is inconceivable that he will give them up to annihilation in death. No true parent can bear to think of the death of his smallest or feeblest child, "even so it is not the will of your Heavenly Father that one of these little ones should perish." [15] Granted Jesus' conception of the father-love of God, his doctrine of immortality follows from it with inevitable logic. The certainty of the future life rings through all the gospel message. "Be not afraid of them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul." "See that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven." Jesus spoke frequently of "inheriting eternal life." To the penitent thief at his side he said: "To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." He said: "In my Father's house are many mansions, I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also." He bade men "lay up treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, and where thieves do not break through and steal." [16]

By the light of this doctrine of immortality Jesus

[14] Matt. 16:26; 6:25-30; 12:12; Luke 15.
[15] Matt. 18:14.
[16] Matt. 10: 28=Luke 12: 4; Matt. 18: 10; 19: 16, 29; Luke 23: 43; John 14: 2.

tested the current Jewish theories in regard to the future life and found them inadequate.

d. Jesus' Attitude Toward the Sadducees.—Jesus' relation to the Sadducean doctrine of eternal sleep of the dead comes to clearest expression in the lengthy argument with the Sadducees recorded by all the Synoptic Gospels.[17] The Sadducees repeated an ancient story, which they regarded as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the Pharisaic belief in resurrection, about a woman who obeyed the levirate law of Deut. 25:5 requiring a man to take his brother's widow, if he died childless, and beget children for his brother. This woman married seven brothers in turn, who all died childless. "In the resurrection, therefore," the Sadducees asked triumphantly, "whose wife shall she be? for the seven had her to wife." They regarded this case as a demonstration that a return to physical life on earth, such as the Pharisees taught, was impossible; and with the rejection of resurrection they also rejected belief in any sort of immortality.

Jesus replied: "Ye do greatly err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God. God said unto Moses, 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.' He is not the God of the dead, but of the living, for all live unto him." That is to say, if God has entered during life into such a personal relation of love and fellowship with a man that He can say, "I am Abraham's God, and Isaac's God, and Jacob's God," that relation is from the nature of the case indestructible. They cannot die on whom God has set his love; "He is not the God of the dead, but of the living"; those whom He has once loved must live evermore unto Him. This is the same confidence that Paul expressed when he said: "I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other created

[17] Mark 12:18-27 = Matt. 22:23-33 = Luke 20:27-40.

thing, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."[18] Jesus thus rejected totally the doctrine of the Sadducees that the conscious existence of the soul ceases at death, and in so doing he rejected also the doctrine of the Prophets and of the Law which the Sadducees had perpetuated.

e. Jesus' Attitude Toward the Pharisees.—In opposing the Sadducees Jesus in a measure put himself on the side of the Pharisees, but their crass, materialistic conception of the future life was as unacceptable to him as it was to the Sadducees. He recognized that the Sadducees were right in holding that a resumption of the present life on earth is impossible. "They that are accounted worthy to attain to that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage; neither can they die any more, for they are equal unto the angels, and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection." That is to say, the future life is different in kind from the present life; it is no mere reanimation of the body that has been laid in the grave, but it is entrance upon a new and incomprehensible form of existence "like unto the angels." Jesus thus rejected the Pharisaic doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh just as completely as he rejected the Sadducean doctrine of eternal sleep in Sheol.

f. Jesus' Attitude Toward the Alexandrian School.—Jesus rejection of the Pharisaic idea of resurrection seems to ally him with the Platonic doctrine of immortality held by the Hellenistic Jews of Alexandria; and, it must be admitted, he is nearer to this school than to either the Sadducees or the Pharisees; still his teaching is not identical with that of the Book of Wisdom. Wisdom and all the Hellenists maintain that the future life is purely incorporeal, that there is no resurrection of any sort, but that the body is evil and a clog to the soul from which it is delivered by death. This is not the conception

[18] Rom. 8:38f.

of Jesus. He retains the old Pharisaic term "resurrection," although he does not use it in the Pharisaic sense. He speaks of a "recompense in the resurrection of the just." He says, "I am the resurrection and the life."[19] This must indicate that he did not hold that the future life is to be the ghost-existence of a discarnate spirit, as both primitive animism and classical philosophy taught, but that the soul is provided at death with a new body adapted to the new environment upon which it is entering. It is not the body that has been laid in the grave, but a superior body, like unto those worn by the angels of God. The entrance upon this new existence Jesus can appropriately call "resurrection," even though his idea is vastly different from the Pharisaic conception of a resurrection of the flesh.

Paul's doctrine of the resurrection seems to be identical; and, therefore, is the best commentary on the teaching of Jesus: "But some one will say, How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come? Thou foolish one, that which thou thyself sowest is not quickened except it die; and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not the body that shall be, but a bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other kind; but God giveth it a body even as it pleaseth him, and to each seed a body of its own. . . . There are also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial: but the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another. . . . So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: it is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body. . . . Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption. . . . For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal

[19] Mark 12:25f. = Matt. 22:30f. = Luke 20:35f.; Luke 14:14; John 11:25.

must put on immortality. But when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall come to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting? . . . Thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." [20]

Jesus thus transcended the materialistic denial of immortality by affirming that there is no break between the present and the future existence of the soul, but that life is continuous. He transcended the equally materialistic conception of a re-animation of the body laid in the grave by teaching that the eternal mode of existence is different in kind from the present mode, and is akin to that of a superior order of spiritual beings, the angels. He transcended the ghost-theory of primitive animism by teaching that the soul at death enters, not upon a dreamy, shadowy, worthless existence, but upon a richer and more abundant life. He transcended the philosophic abstraction of pure spirit, with its attendant danger of loss of personality through absorption into the Universal Spirit, by teaching that the soul acquires at death a spiritual body, adapted to the needs of eternal, spiritual existence. Thus he gave the world the loftiest and noblest doctrine of immortality that has ever been conceived, and surpassed the best efforts of all the religious thinkers who had gone before him.

The Christian Church in its teaching on immortality has not always maintained the high standard set by its Master, but has substituted the Jewish compromise between Hellenism and Pharisaism that was current in the time of Christ, according to which souls entered at once after death upon a spiritual immortality, but returned to their bodies at the general resurrection of the last day. This has become the orthodox doctrine of the great historic creeds. Thus the Westminster Confession, the last

[20] I Cor. 15:35-57.

of these creeds, says: "The bodies of men, after death, return to dust, and see corruption; but their souls (which neither die nor sleep), having an immortal subsistence, immediately return to God who gave them. The souls of the righteous, being then made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies: and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day. Besides these two places for souls separated from their bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none. At the last day, such as are found alive shall not die, but be changed: and all the dead shall be raised up with the selfsame bodies, and none other, although with different qualities, which shall be united again to their souls for ever." [21] This is exactly the doctrine of the Book of Enoch and of the Talmud,[22] but it is doubtful whether it represents in the slightest degree the original teaching of Jesus.

g. The Resurrection of Jesus.—According to the unanimous belief of the primitive Christian Church Jesus died upon the cross, was buried, and on the third day rose from the dead and showed himself alive to a large number of his disciples. He thus not merely taught immortality, but also demonstrated it in his own case by proving that he had survived the catastrophe of death. In regard to this stupendous claim of the first followers of Jesus the historical facts are as follows:

1. Mark, our oldest Gospel, written from thirty to thirty-five years after the crucifixion, declares that Jesus predicted not only his death, but also his resurrection; and this testimony is repeated by all the other Gospels.[23]

2. Christian literature beginning with the sermons of Peter and Paul in the Book of Acts, continuing with

[21] *Westminster Confession,* Chapter XXXII.
[22] See p. 284.
[23] Mark. 8:31; 9:9f., 31; 10:34.

the early letters of Paul (52-60 A.D.), the Gospels (60-100 A.D.), and other later writings, is unanimous that Jesus was crucified, and that he certainly died on the cross. Crucifixion is not the sort of punishment that a man can survive and lead an active life after it has occurred. The Roman executioners may be trusted to have seen to it that Jesus was surely dead before they allowed his body to be removed from the cross, and the Fourth Gospel adds: "One of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and straightway there came out blood and water" (*i. e.*, the heart was pierced). "And he that hath seen hath born witness, and his witness is true: and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe" (*i. e.*, this rests upon the testimony of an eye-witness).[24] There can be no doubt, therefore, as to the reality of Jesus' death. The "swoon theory" as an explanation of the primitive Christian belief in Jesus' resurrection is now thoroughly discredited among scientific historians.

3. The belief that Jesus had risen from the dead appeared among the first disciples on the third day after his crucifixion, and remained unshaken throughout the whole period covered by the New Testament literature. The early Aramaic document on which Luke bases his narrative in the first thirteen chapters of Acts records that, beginning with the Day of Pentecost, fifty days after the crucifixion, Peter began to preach, "Jesus of Nazareth, the Messiah, whom ye crucified, hath God raised from the dead." This testimony is confirmed by Peter himself in his first letter (*c.* 64 A.D.).[25] From personal experience as the companion of Paul, Luke testifies that Paul preached the resurrection of Jesus from the time of his conversion, soon after the crucifixion, through all his missionary journeys;[26] and his statements are confirmed by Paul's earliest letters, I Thessalonians,

[24] Acts 2:36; 4:10; I Thes. 4:14; 5:10; I Cor. 15:3; Mark 15:37; John 19:34f.
[25] Acts 1:22; 2:24; 2:31-34; 3:15; 4:2, 10, 33; 5:30; 10:40; I Pet. 1:3, 21; 3:21.
[26] Acts 13:30-37; 17:3, 18, 31-32; 26:8, 23.

II Thessalonians, I Corinthians, II Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, Colossians, Ephesians, and Philippians, which are the oldest New Testament writings, and range in date between 52 and 60 A.D.[27] There is not another subject on which the New Testament writings are so unanimous as they are on the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. There were disputes in the Church as to whether his followers also rose, and disputes on many matters of doctrine and practice; but no early Christian ever questioned that Jesus himself had risen, nor did any heresy denying the resurrection appear in the early centuries of Christianity. This fact of universal faith in Jesus' resurrection in the Christian Church from the very beginning is admitted by all schools of criticism, and must be satisfactorily accounted for by any historical theory of the resurrection.

4. The New Testament writings state that the primitive Christian assurance of the fact of Jesus' resurrection rested upon two foundations: first, the empty tomb and the inability of the Jewish authorities to produce the body of Jesus; and second, upon repeated appearances of Jesus to his disciples during the forty days that followed his crucifixion. Matthew (70-80 A.D.) alone narrates the guarding of the tomb in which the body of Jesus was laid by the Jewish and Roman authorities. Mark, our oldest Gospel, followed by all the other Gospels, narrates that women who came to the tomb early in the morning of the third day found it empty, and reported this to the Apostles. Luke and John record that Peter and John then went to the tomb, and found it empty, as the women had reported. Matthew alone relates that the priests bribed the soldiers to say that the body of Jesus had been stolen while they slept.[28] The empty tomb thus rests primarily upon the testimony of Mark, who

[27] I Thes. 1:10; 4:14; I Cor. 6:14; 15:3-23; II Cor. 4:14; 5:15; 13:4; Gal. 1:1; Rom. 1:4; 4:24f.; 5:10; 6:4-10; 7:4; 8:11, 34; 10:9; 14:9; Col. 2:12; 3:1; Eph. 1:19-23; 2:5, 6; Phil. 2:8-11; 3:10.

[28] Matt. 27:62-66; Mark 16:1-8; Luke 24:12, 24; John 20:3-10; Matt. 28:11-15.

was one of the eye-witnesses of the closing events in the earthly life of Jesus, and in whose mother's house the last supper was eaten and the Spirit descended on the Day of Pentecost.[29] Papias, who wrote about 140 A.D., states that "Mark, who was Peter's interpreter, wrote down accurately, though not in order, all that he recollected of what Christ had said or done." Mark's testimony to the empty tomb is thus ultimately the testimony of Peter also.

Luke in his account of the empty tomb follows Mark in the main, but has access to another source, which, in addition to Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James, mentions Joanna among the women who found the sepulchre empty. This Joanna is named by Luke only in 8:3: "Joanna, the wife of Chuzas, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, who ministered unto them of their substance." The same special source connected with Herod's court appears also in Luke 23:7-12. It is a reasonable conjecture that this special source used by Luke was the account of Joanna herself, or of one of the other women who with her found the tomb empty.

Through some accident of textual transmission the Gospel of Mark most unfortunately breaks off abruptly at 16:8, and what follows in the current text is an addition, perhaps by the Presbyter Aristion, which is not found in the earliest New Testament manuscripts. Luke follows Mark closely in 24:1-11, and therefore it is probable that he followed him also in the account of Peter's discovery of the empty tomb in 24:12. This is just the sort of material that Mark might be expected to have received from the oral instruction of Peter. The empty tomb, accordingly, rests not only upon the testimony of Mark, but also upon the testimony of two other early and independent sources, the tradition of the women who visited the sepulchre, and of Peter. The only ways in which the evidence of the empty tomb can be eliminated are by

[29] Mark 14:15, 51f.; Luke 24:33; Acts 1:13f., 2:1-4; 12:12.

the supposition that the disciples stole the body of Jesus, which is precluded by their moral character and their willingness to die for their testimony; or by the theory that the empty tomb is a later embellishment of the tradition, which is difficult in view of the three ancient and independent lines of evidence in support of it.

5. The earliest witness to the appearances of Jesus after his resurrection is Paul in I Cor. 15:3-8: "For I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received: that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; and that he was buried; and that he hath been raised on the third day according to the scriptures; and that he appeared unto Cephas; then to the twelve; then he appeared to above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain until now, but some are fallen asleep; then he appeared unto James; then to all the apostles; and last of all, as to the child untimely born, he appeared to me also." Here Paul, writing only twenty-five or twenty-six years after the crucifixion (no farther away from the events that he records than we are from the incidents of the Spanish-American war), declares that he had received the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus as part of the primitive apostolic preaching; and had proclaimed this on his first visit to Corinth several years earlier: "I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received." Furthermore, he asserts that Peter, James, and the other apostles, who were well known to him personally, vouched for appearances of the risen Jesus to themselves. Still more, he claims that there were above five hundred brethren, most of whom were still alive, who had seen Jesus after his resurrection. Finally, Paul says that, some time after the appearances to the others, Jesus appeared to him also. This testimony of Paul, a contemporary of Jesus, and a personal friend of the first apostles, written within such a short period after the events, is historical evidence of the first order.

The first appearance of Jesus that Paul records, that

to Peter (I Cor. 15:5 *a*), is attested by an independent tradition in Luke 24:34, also by Acts 1:22, 3:15 and I Pet. 1:3, 21. The second appearance recorded by Paul (I Cor. 15:5 *b*), that to the whole body of disciples, is recorded also by Luke 24:36-42, and independently by John 20:19-25. The third appearance, according to Paul, that to above five hundred brethren at once (I Cor. 15:6), is probably identical with the appearance on a mountain in Galilee narrated by Matt. 28:16-20; Acts 1:2*b*-3 and also by the Gospel of Peter. The appearance to James (I Cor. 15:7 *a*) is mentioned also by a later tradition in the Gospel according to the Hebrews; and the appearance to all the apostles (I Cor. 15:7 *b*) is related also by Luke 24:44-49 and Acts 1:4, as well as by the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The belated appearance to Paul himself (I Cor. 15:8) is recorded also in Acts 9:1-9; 22:1-11; 26:1-18, and is frequently alluded to in Paul's letters, *e. g.*, I Cor. 9:1; Gal. 1:11-17.

The appearance to Mary Magdalene (and other women) is narrated by Matt. 28:9-10; John 20:11-18; and by the appendix to Mark (Mark 16:9-11). In all probability Matthew's account is based upon the missing conclusion to Mark's Gospel, since he follows Mark in the preceding narrative of the empty tomb. The absence of this appearance from Paul's list signifies nothing, since Paul is giving primarily a list of appearances to the *apostles,* among whom he claims to be included on account of Jesus' appearance to him also. The appearance to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus is related by Luke only, 24:13-35 (Appendix to Mark, 16:12-13), but the Greek name Cleopas borne by one of the disciples suggests that the incident is derived from the special source connected with Herod's court from which Luke derived 8:3; 23:7-12; 24:10, namely the report of some of the women who came early to the tomb. The appearances to the apostles recorded in John 20:26-31 and 21:1-24 are not attested by any earlier sources, and there-

fore stand on a lower plane of credibility; still, in spite of its late date (*c.* 100 A.D.), the Gospel of John unquestionably contains many genuine incidents of the life of Jesus that are not recorded by the Synoptic Gospels, and in some cases John seems to have preserved an even more accurate tradition than the Synoptists. The testimony of John, therefore, is not lightly to be dismissed as worthless, even when it is unsupported by earlier evidence.

The only way in which one can set aside this large body of early testimony to appearances of Jesus in proof of his resurrection is by the hypothesis that all these appearances were visions. This theory does not explain the ancient testimony to the empty tomb, and is compelled to call in the "fraud theory" to its support. It is contrary to the evidence of our sources, which assert that Jesus ate and drank with his disciples, bade them touch him, and gave them all possible proof that he was not an apparition.[30] The appearances do not occur in such a way as would be natural, if they were visionary. If only visions had occurred, we should expect that they would have come a considerable time after Jesus' death, when the disciples had recovered from their first disappointment—"The chief priests and our rulers delivered him up to be condemned to death, and crucified him; but we hoped that it was he who should redeem Israel"—and when, after meditation on Jesus' teaching they had come to the conclusion that he still lived in Heaven with his Father. Someone might then have seen a vision of Jesus in glory such as Stephen saw (Acts 7:55f.); and others, hearing of it, might have had similar visions. The number of visions would slowly increase, and no limit would be set to the period during which they occurred. It would even be regarded as a normal Christian experience to have a vision of the glorified Christ. Instead of this, our earliest sources are unanimous that the appearances began on the *third day* after Jesus' crucifixion, that they

[30] Luke 24:30, 37-43; John 20:27; 21:13; Acts 1:3; 10:41; 1 John 1:1.

came to so many persons on that day that by evening the disciples were convinced that Jesus had risen from the dead, that they lasted over a period of only forty days, then ceased abruptly, and were not expected to recur again, so that those who had seen them constituted a unique class of witnesses to the resurrection. This is not in accord with the psychology of visions. The later appearance to Paul was so exceptional and unexpected that Paul spoke of himself as "a child untimely born." If the experiences of the first disciples were only visions, there is no reason why Paul might not have had a similar experience, or why any other Christian in all time to come might not have it. Even Paul's experience differed from that of the first apostles in that he had no demonstration of the *bodily* existence of the risen Jesus. That existence apparently terminated at the end of the forty days during which Jesus "showed himself alive after his passion by many proofs" (Acts 1:3), and he then entered upon the spiritual existence of the other world that he had described in his teaching about immortality.

The "vision theory," accordingly, fails to do justice to the evidence of our earliest Christian historical records; and therefore, we are forced to the conclusion that the only satisfactory explanation of the resurrection *faith* in the primitive Christian Church is the resurrection *fact*. The first Christians believed that Jesus had risen from the dead, not because some of them had visions of him—visions of the dead have been common enough in all ages—but because they knew the empty tomb and the bodily appearances of Jesus over a period of forty days to be historical events. Comparisons with Oriental and Classical myths of dying and reviving nature-gods are out of place here, for belief in Jesus' resurrection was not a gradual growth during the centuries after Christianity had gone out into Græco-Roman world, but it appeared full blown on the third day after the crucifixion. The antiquity of the Christian records leaves no

room for a process of myth-making, and mythical analogies are useful only when incidents are themselves proved to be mythical.

This stupendous event of Jesus' resurrection was the appropriate culmination of his life and of his teaching. He claimed to be the "Son of God," and as such to be the "Messiah." "He was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead" (Rom. 1:4). He was rejected by the Jewish authorities as an imposter; but "this Jesus did God raise up . . . and made him both Lord and Christ" (Acts 2:22-36). He taught that the way of self-renunciation was the only way to self-realisation —"He that findeth his life shall lose it, but he that loseth his life shall find it"—and, in obedience to this law, he went to the cross. If the cross had been the end, Jesus' life would have closed in apparent failure, and men would never have known whether he triumphed, and whether his rule of life were true; but through the resurrection it was proved that, because "he humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea the death of the cross, therefore also God highly exalted him, and gave him the name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Phil. 2:8-11). Jesus taught the immortality of every human soul, and he gave the supreme evidence of immortality by showing himself alive after his passion. Therefore, the faith of the early Christian Church in immortality rested not so much upon Jesus' *teaching* as upon the *fact* of his resurrection. "God hath begotten us unto a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead." "He hath abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light through the gospel." "If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also that are fallen asleep in Jesus will

God bring with him." "God both raised the Lord, and will raise up us through his power." "If Christ be preached that he hath been raised from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead." "Now hath Christ been raised from the dead, the firstfruits of them that are asleep." "He that raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also with Jesus." "If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall give life also to your mortal bodies through his spirit that dwelleth in you." [31]

[31] I Pet. 1:3; II Tim. 1:10; I Thes. 4:14; I Cor. 6:14; 15:12, 20; II Cor. 4:14; Rom. 8.11.

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